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CALIFORNIA HISTORY

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A British Sea Captain Explores Turn-of-the-Eighteenth-Century San Francisco Bay

"Thursday morning, November 15, we discovered our anchorage to be in a most excellent small bay. . . . The herds of cattle and flocks of sheep grazing on the surrounding hills were a sight we had long been strangers to and brought to our minds many pleasing reflections." So wrote British explorer George Vancouver on the first morning of his ten-day sojourn at San Francisco Bay in 1792. Alta (or upper) California, claimed by Spain for centuries and finally colonized after 1769, was home to fourteen Spanish missions and four military presidios by the time of Vancouver's visit. Captain Vancouver's vessel, *Discovery*, was the first non-Spanish ship to sail into San Francisco Bay. His account of this and two later visits, published in 1798 as *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean*, provides a unique firsthand description of the harshness of life—for Spaniard and mission Indian alike—in California at the close of the eighteenth century, and foreshadows much of what was to come in the next two hundred years.

Isolated and forbidding, California was home to fewer than two thousand non-Indian inhabitants in 1800. Vancouver described the Spaniards he encountered in the San Francisco Bay area as hospitable but terribly rustic. They had no boat larger than an Indian balsa; their ramshackle presidio was guarded by a single antique cannon (Vancouver reported that a second one had "burst to pieces" shortly before he arrived). The apartment of presidio commander Hermenegildo Sal was equally unimpressive: "The floor was of the native soil raised about three feet from its original level, without being boarded, paved, or even reduced to an even surface. . . . The furniture consisted of a very sparing assortment of the most indispensable articles of the rudest fashion and of the meanest kind, and ill-accorded with the ideas we had conceived of the sumptuous manner in which the Spaniards live on this side of the globe." Vancouver summed up California in a few words: "Instead of finding a country tolerably well-inhabited and far advanced in cultivation—if we except its natural pastures, the flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle—there is not an object to indicate the most remote connection with any European or civilized nation."

The Spaniards' numbers may have been small but their impact on California was immense; in fact, San Francisco Bay had undergone dramatic changes since the arrival of Spanish settlers and the establishment of missions San Francisco de Asís and Santa Clara de Asís in the late 1770s. Its Indian inhabitants, including Patwin, Plains Miwok, Bay Miwok, Ohlone (Costanoan), and Wappo language groups, had been ravaged by a host of European diseases unknown to North American immune systems. Significant environmental changes had been triggered by the overgrazing of mission livestock and the Spaniards' prohibition of Indian controlled burning practices. Native Californians, first attracted to the missions out of curiosity or self-interest, discovered they were not allowed to leave. By the time of Vancouver's visit in 1792, the Indians of San Francisco Bay had been rendered, in the words of anthropologist Randall Milliken, "a culturally shocked and broken people living in a bewildering foreign environment."

Vancouver's descriptions of the Indians he witnessed at Mission Dolores reflect both his ethnocultural biases and the stultifying effects of mission life.



Ohlone (Costanoan) Indians navigate the waters of San Francisco Bay in a tule-reed balsa, from a watercolor by Louis Choris, 1816. California Historical Society, FN-30512.

"Deaf to the important lessons and insensible of the promised advantages, they still remained in the most abject state of uncivilization; . . . They are certainly a race of the most miserable beings—possessing the faculty of human reason—I ever saw," he wrote. Their dispirited faces presented "a dull, heavy, and stupid countenance, devoid of sensibility or the least expression."

Vancouver's *A Voyage of the Discovery*, with its splendid maps, descriptions of California's enticing landscape, and condemnation of the Spaniards' pitiful defenses, increased European interest in the region and encouraged British, Dutch, Russian, and American ship captains to defy Spanish policy by sailing the California coast. Spain's flimsy grasp on California was severed in 1808 when France invaded Spain; two years later, a revolution begun by Father Miguel Hidalgo embroiled Mexico (once called "New Spain") in a decade of war that led to Mexican independence in 1821. During the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s, American sailors, traders, and mountain men increasingly penetrated California's borders until the U.S. government took the region through war in 1846. The natural beauty and abundance of California, so praised by Vancouver and other early visitors, drew settlers and merchants well before the discovery of gold in 1848. Indeed, the Gold Rush—with its aggressive entrepreneurial spirit, its calamitous impact on the environment, and its disastrous consequences for California Indians—was the ultimate escalation of a Europeanization process already underway by the time of Vancouver's visit in 1792. More than two hundred years later, Californians live in a society shaped, for better or for worse, by that process.

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Accounts of California Before
the Gold Rush* (Heyday Books, 1999)

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ADELBERT VON CHAMISSO: A German Poet-Naturalist and His Visit to California

by Edward Mornin

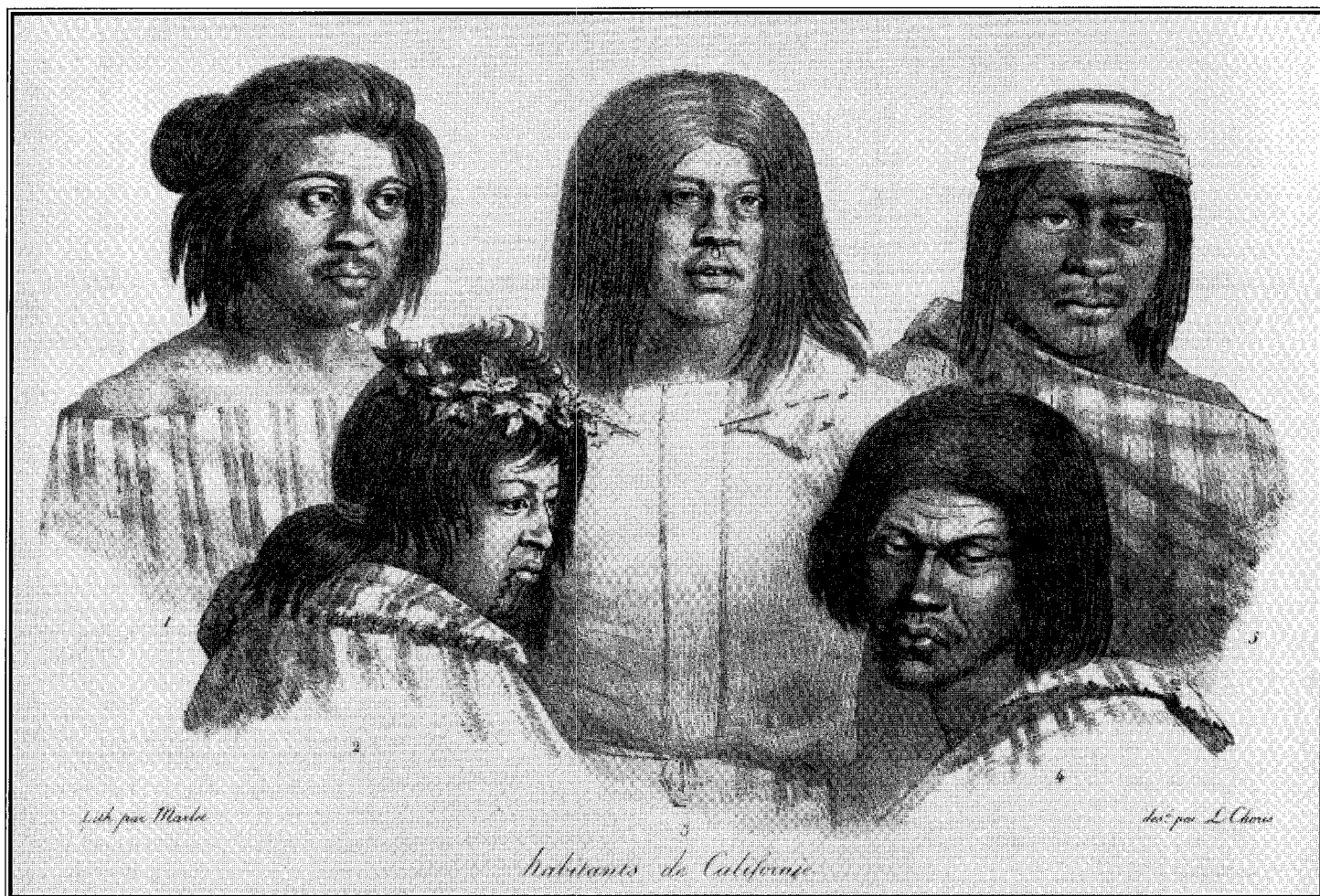
What could be more familiar to Californians than their state flower, the California poppy, a common sight by roadway and on hillside, in private yard and public park? Like other poppies a member of the *papaveraceae* family, the California poppy by genus and species is designated *Eschscholzia californica*, to which is sometimes appended the abbreviation *Cham*. This stands for *Chamisso* (in full, Adelbert von Chamisso), a name a good deal less familiar to Californians than the poppy that Chamisso first described and named.

Chamisso came to California only once, for a month in 1816, as naturalist on board the Russian ship *Rurik* on a round-the-world voyage of exploration that lasted three years. The official purpose of this voyage, which was financed by Count Nicolai Rumiantsov, former Russian foreign minister and chancellor, appears never to have been clearly articulated. Judging by the mission's actual activities, however, a main goal seems to have been to search for a waterway northward around North America (discovered later and named the Northwest Passage). At the time of the voyage, Alaska and the Aleutian Islands were Russian possessions, controlled by the Russian-American Company, which in 1812 had also challenged Spanish sovereignty in California by building the settlement of Rus (now Fort Ross) on the coast north of San Francisco. The Fort Ross Russians were involved in trade and in the hunting of sea otters on the California coast, both of which activities were forbidden to foreigners under Spanish law. Hence, it has been suggested that an ancillary, or even primary, purpose of the *Rurik* expedition was to fly the Russian flag and represent a Russian presence in the eastern Pacific, testing the strength of Spanish power in the area.¹ Beyond this, *Rurik* conducted scientific and ethnographic investigations of the sort carried out on

earlier Pacific expeditions led by navigators such as Captain James Cook, George Vancouver, Jean François de La Pérouse, Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, and Adam Johann von Krusenstern. It was while *Rurik* was anchored in San Francisco Bay that Chamisso collected the little golden-orange poppy that he named after the ship's doctor, Johann Friedrich Eschscholtz, and which he described (in Latin) for publication in 1820.²

Chamisso also published his views on conditions in the San Francisco presidio and mission as he saw them in 1816, as well as his more general reflections on the present and future prospects of California. As an early visitor to the area, he deserves to be better known for these views as well as in his own right, for the discoverer of the California poppy was a celebrated poet in Germany and an internationally respected scientist in his time.³

Though as a writer he called himself Adelbert von Chamisso, Chamisso was in fact born Louis-Charles-Adélaïde de Chamisso into a French noble family that traced its origins back to the fifteenth century. He was born in 1781 at the Château de Boncourt in Champagne, the sixth of seven children, to the Count de Chamisso. After the outbreak of the French Revolution, this royalist family abandoned everything and fled, through the Netherlands, to Germany. The Chamissos experienced some real hardships, and even little Louis-Charles (as he was then known) had to contribute to family finances by working as a miniature-painter for the Royal Prussian porcelain works in Berlin. The skills that he developed here stood him in good stead later as a botanist, when he was able to illustrate some of his own publications. After 1796, however, his life appeared for a time to follow a more conventional pattern for a per-



Louis Choris, *Habitants de Californie*, Mission Dolores, 1816. Choris, a twenty-year-old Russian artist who accompanied Adelbert von Chamisso to California on *Rurik*, saw firsthand the stultifying effects of mission life on the Indians of the Bay Area. "Severe fevers occur constantly among the [mission] Indians," he noted. "These maladies commonly carry off a great number. . . . I have never seen one laugh. I have never seen one look [you] in the face. They look as though they were interested in nothing." Copy of a lithograph from a drawing in Choris's *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1882). Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.

son of his class, for he became a page in the Prussian royal household and subsequently an officer in the Prussian army. In his leisure time he also began to write poetry, first in French, and then in German. Chamisso had been educated at the French *collège* in Berlin, paid extended visits to France throughout his life, and remained a French citizen until his death. His published writings, however, except for scientific papers in Latin, were exclusively in German, and as the author of these he signed himself Adelbert von Chamisso.⁴

When war broke out between France and Prussia in 1806, Chamisso's position between these nations became intolerably stressful for him. "In Germany I feel myself French, and in France I feel myself German," he wrote at one point to his friend Madame de Staël, the celebrated French woman of letters. He resigned his Prussian army commission in 1808, and

from 1812 to 1814 tried to establish some kind of psychological stability in his life by turning away from the turmoil of international events and absorbing himself in a wide range of scientific studies at the University of Berlin, including botany, zoology, comparative anatomy, and geology. When the opportunity arose to participate as a naturalist on a round-the-world voyage, he seized it.

Chamisso joined the *Rurik*, which had sailed from Kronstadt two weeks previously, when it docked in Copenhagen in August 1815. *Rurik* was a 180-ton, two-masted brigantine of the Imperial Russian Navy, and as such was accorded diplomatic honors in the foreign ports that it was to visit. Interestingly, though then only thirty-four years of age, Chamisso was the oldest man on board. The captain, Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue, a Baltic German in Russian service, was twenty-eight, and he had sailed around the



Portrait of Adelbert von Chamisso. Copy of a lithograph from a drawing by Chamisso's friend, E. T. A. Hoffmann, a celebrated German Romantic author, composer, and artist. *Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.*

world once already on the Krusenstern expedition of 1803-1806. Although Chamisso was principal naturalist, there were two other naturalists aboard—Johann Friedrich Eschscholtz (also the ship's doctor), from Dorpat (now Tartu) in Estonia, and Morton Wormskjöld, a Danish botanist who left the ship in Kamchatka. Another important member of the ship's company was Louis [Ludovik] Choris, the expedition's artist and illustrator,⁵ a Russian of German extraction who has left us some fine drawings of San Francisco, particularly of the Indians that he saw there. The remainder of the company of thirty-two men were Russians.

Chamisso's voyage took him to England (Plymouth), the Canary Islands, and Brazil (Santa Catarina), and around Cape Horn into the Pacific. After visiting Talcahuano (Concepción Bay) in Chile, and Easter Island, the ship sailed to Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka before spending four weeks reconnoitering the Bering Strait area in preparation for the main explorations of the following summer. In Alaska, they charted and named Kotzebue Sound, in a bay of which (Eschscholtz Bay) lies a rocky islet, Chamisso Island, named after the poet-naturalist. After stops at Unalaska in the Aleutians, and San Francisco, they sailed to Hawaii and other islands of the Pacific,

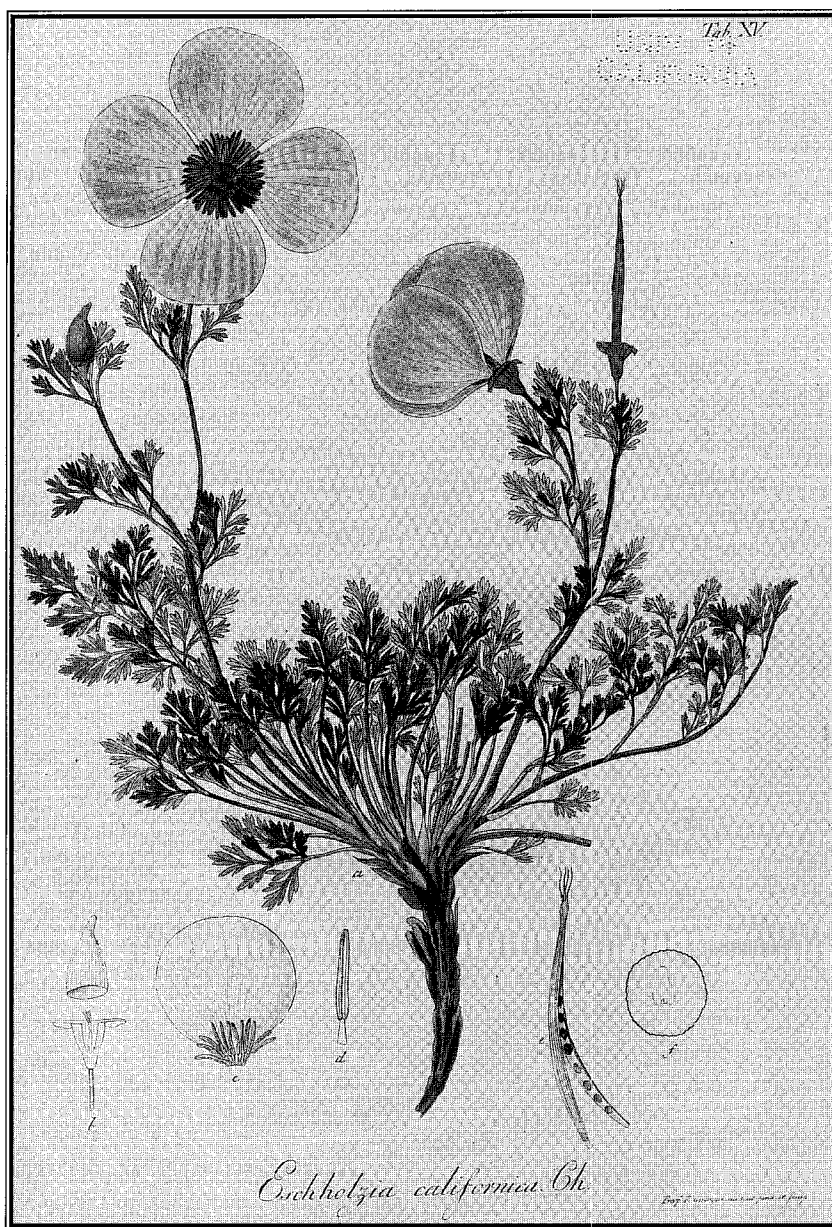
including the Carolines and the Marshall Islands, spending the winter of 1816-1817 in the tropical zone. The following summer *Rurik* returned to the Arctic, but with the captain's illness the expedition was abandoned, much to Chamisso's displeasure. Following another winter (1817-1818) in Hawaii and the Marshall Islands, *Rurik* returned to Europe via Guam, the Philippines, and Cape Town. After brief stops at Portsmouth (with an important side trip to London), Copenhagen, Reval, Kronstadt, and St. Petersburg, Chamisso returned to Berlin in September 1818.

Apart from visits to France and some field trips to different parts of Germany, he spent his remaining years in Berlin, where he died in 1838. A monument to him stands on Monbijouplatz in Berlin.

Even before returning to Berlin, Chamisso had made a name for himself as a participant in the *Rurik* expedition. Hence he was well received in London by established scientists such as Georges Baron de Cuvier, Sir Robert Brown, and Sir Joseph Banks, who had been the naturalist on Cook's voyage of 1768-1771 and was then president of the Royal Society and honorary director of the Royal Botanic Gardens in Kew. Banks showed him his famous herbarium, undoubtedly of great interest to Chamisso, who had collected some twelve thousand species of plants and flowers on his voyage. The conservation and organization of these formed the basis of his scientific work for years. What remains of the collection is preserved today in the herbarium of the Botanical Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. Though he was a well-rounded naturalist, the majority of Chamisso's scientific publications were botanical.⁶

Chamisso's work was descriptive and taxonomic rather than theoretical, traditional rather than innovative. This is shown, for instance, by his adherence to the principle of the immutability of species—though none other than Charles Darwin (his junior by twenty-eight years) called him a "justly distinguished naturalist." His achievements were widely acknowledged by contemporary scientists. Notably, Chamisso enjoyed the respect, as well as the friendship, of Alexander von Humboldt, the greatest German naturalist of this age, who explored South America and Mexico in the years 1799 to 1804 and after whom the Humboldt Current and numerous place-names in California and other U.S. states are named. For his scientific work, Chamisso was awarded a doctorate *honoris causa* by the University of Berlin in 1819, and on Humboldt's nomination he was admitted to the prestigious Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1835. He also became curator of the Royal Botanical Gardens and director of the Royal Herbarium in Berlin.

During the expedition's month-long stopover in



(Above) Portrait of Johann Friedrich Eschscholtz, the ship's doctor on the *Rurik*, and the man for whom Chamisso named the California Poppy (*Eschscholzia californica*). From the frontispiece of Eschscholtz's *Zoologischer Atlas* (Berlin, 1829). Courtesy Special Collections, California Academy of Sciences.

(Left) First picture of the California Poppy, from Chamisso's original description of the flower in *Horae Physicae Berolinenses* (Bonn, 1820). Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.

San Francisco, Chamisso collected, in addition to *Eschscholzia*, more than seventy genera or species of plants, of which over twenty now bear his name. These include the California wild rose (*Rosa californica* Chamisso & Schlechtendal) and a California blackberry (*Rubus vitifolius* Cham. & Schl.). Apart from these, he described and named more than two hundred other plants and flowers gathered from around the world. He also had a total of sixty-three different items named after him by others—plants, animals, and geographical sites (such as Chamisso Island, mentioned above, and Chamisso Bay in the Caroline Islands).

Chamisso's most important and original scientific publication is generally assessed as *De salpa* of 1819.

This work, which was also an outcome of the *Rurik* expedition, describes for the first time in any organism the phenomenon of alternation of generations. Specifically, the marine organism *salpa* (a tunicate) displays alternation of generations between an individual free-swimming form and a colonial form.

Chamisso's life experiences, and his personal convictions, too, are also reflected in his longer discursive writings in prose and in his verse. His first poems appeared in 1803, but his most popular work was, and continues to be, the fantastic tale *Peter Schlemihl's Wonderful History* (1814), which has been translated into all major languages.⁷ Remarkably, the hero of this story becomes a globe-trotting naturalist by means of a pair of seven-league boots, and so may be said to

prefigure its author's life after 1815. Otherwise Chamisso's most notable prose work was his *Voyage around the World*, which comprises his *Remarks and Opinions* (1821) and his *Diary* (1836). *Remarks and Opinions* was his contribution to the official report on the Rurik expedition, other contributors being Kotzebue and Choris.⁸ It appeared in German in Weimar, was immediately translated into English, Russian, and Dutch, and was translated into French in 1981 and into English again in 1986, showing that it still retains a place in the history of science today. The *Diary* is to some extent a misnomer, since it does not represent a day by day account of the voyage, though it was based on Chamisso's daily journal and letters written en route. In contrast to *Remarks and Opinions*, the *Diary* was written for the benefit of his friends and is rich in personal and humorous touches.

In addition to this, Chamisso was well-known as a lyric poet, and from 1827 to 1838 was one of the most prolific and prominent poets publishing in German. His lyrical creation most popular today is the song-cycle *Frauen-Liebe und Leben* (1830), world-famous in the musical setting of Robert Schumann. The originality and importance of his poems in their day resided in their expression of social criticism, liberal political ideas, and firm cosmopolitan convictions. Among his poems, he wrote three about American Indians, among the earliest of their kind in the German language.⁹ These form an interesting pendant to his observations on the Indians of California, who are discussed below.

At this point it seems appropriate to let Chamisso speak for himself, first from his *Diary* and then from his *Remarks and Opinions*, for he was not only a good observer of life around him, but as a man of letters he possessed the ability to express himself vividly and effectively. These passages have been edited to retain what seemed to me most original or interesting for modern readers and to omit information on geography, climate, and population (amounting to about half of Chamisso's text) that is either merely quantitative or common knowledge today. I have also chosen passages that reflect Chamisso's personality in some way—his keen social conscience, as well as his wit and humor. All translations are my own. Chamisso's text is indented.

It will be recalled that at this time San Francisco was one of four garrison towns in the province of Alta (upper) California, the others being San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Monterey. Monterey was the seat of the provincial governor, Don Pablo Vicente de Solá, the last Spanish governor (1815-1822) of the province, who figures in Chamisso's account. The San Francisco garrison, as Chamisso notes, was poorly equipped

and badly trained, and Kotzebue's initial undiplomatic posturing (other examples of it appear later) may have been intended as a test of the Spaniards' resolve to deal with Russian incursions along the coast in general. If so, their resolve was seen to be minimal:

At 4 o'clock on the afternoon of October 2, 1816, we sail into San Francisco harbor. There is great activity evident on the fort at the southern entrance to the channel. They run up their flag, and we show ours, which does not appear to be known here, and we salute the Spanish flag with seven guns, to which, in accordance with Spanish protocol, they respond with two guns fewer. We drop anchor in front of the presidio, and no boat pushes out from shore to greet us, for the simple reason that on this splendid bay Spain does not possess one single boat.

I was ordered at once to accompany Lieutenant Shishmarev to the presidio. Lieutenant Don Luís de Argüello, interim Commandant since the death of the Captain of Cavalry who had been his predecessor, received us most cordially, attended immediately to Rurik's most pressing needs by sending fruit and vegetables on board, and that same evening dispatched a courier to the Governor of New California in Monterey informing him of our arrival.

Next morning (October 3) I met the artillery officer Don Miguel de la Luz Gomez and a priest from the local mission just as they were coming to the ship and as I myself was about to go to the presidio on an errand for the Captain. I accompanied them on board; they were the bearers of the friendliest assurances of assistance on the part of the Commandant and of the much wealthier mission. The cleric also invited us to the mission of San Francisco for the following day, the feast of St. Francis, and promised to have horses ready to take us there. At the Captain's request, we were immediately and abundantly supplied with vegetables and with animals for fresh meat. In the afternoon, our tents were set up ashore, as were the observatory and the Russian bath. In the evening we paid a visit to the Commandant. Eight guns were fired from the presidio to welcome the Captain.

However, it was not these unsolicited courtesy shots that the Captain lusted after, but the two that were still owing to the Russian flag; and he insistently demanded that they should be granted. There were long negotiations on this matter, and it was only reluctantly and under duress (perhaps even only after the Governor's intervention) that Don Luís de Argüello finally and belatedly deigned to furnish the two missing shots. I should add to this that one of our sailors had to be ordered to the fort in order to fix the cord to run up their flag again, for it had broken when last put to use and locally no one was able to climb the flagpole.¹⁰

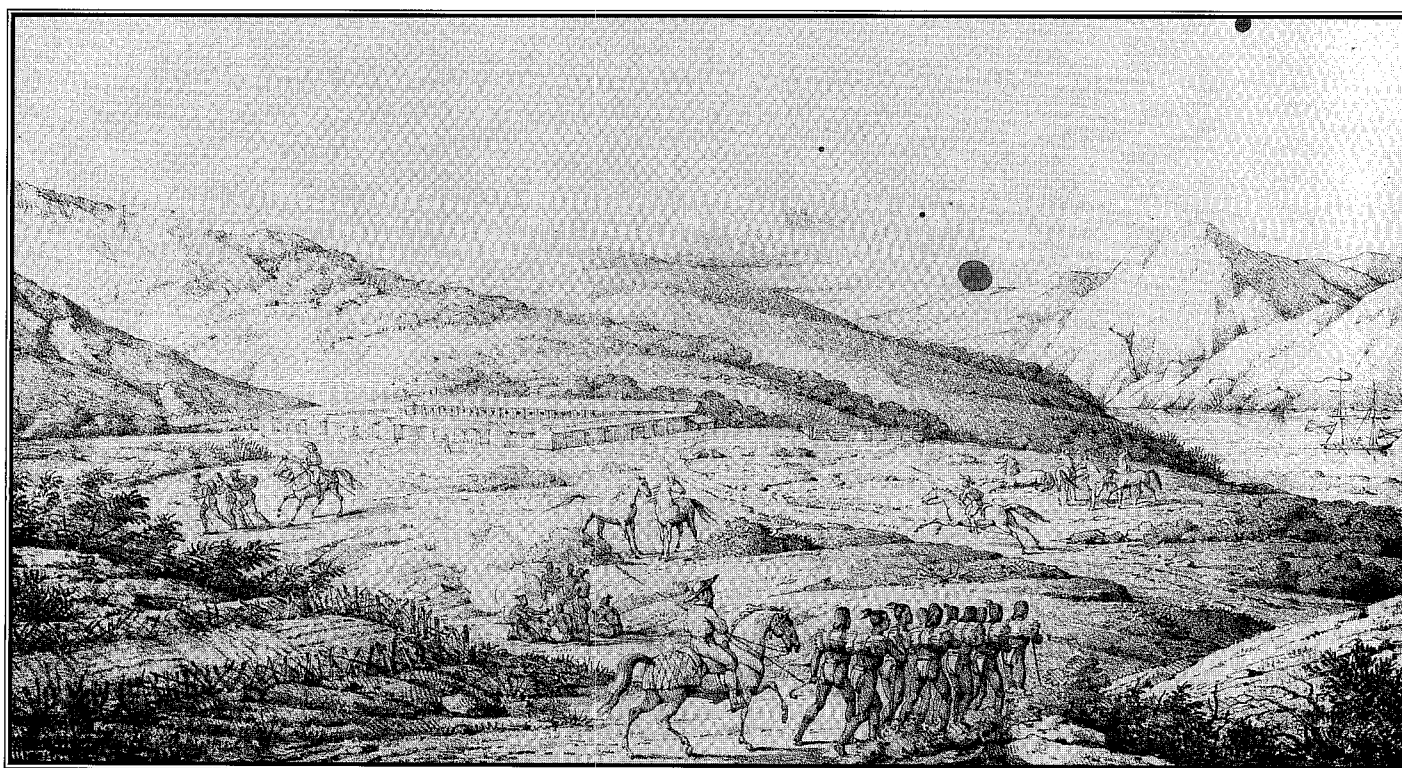
Don Luís de Argüello, who makes a modest appearance here, was later to become the first governor (1822-1825) of Mexican California after independence

from Spain. Born in San Francisco, he became the province's first native-born governor. His grave can be seen today at Mission Dolores.

Chamisso soon discovered that the Spanish garrison was seriously demoralized and underprovisioned, dependent as it was on supplies—undelivered for the past several years—shipped from distant San Blas, in the present-day Mexican state of Nayarit. Furthermore, the soldiers suffered from the lack of cooperation of the missionaries. So the soldiers were glad to avail themselves of the hospitality offered by *Rurik*, a fact that Chamisso expresses obliquely and somewhat humorously. Despite the strained nature of official Spanish-Russian relations, garrison and ship's company got on well together personally.

Though brought up a Catholic, Chamisso disapproved of the Catholic missionary work that he witnessed everywhere on his voyage (e.g., also in Guam and the Philippines). Already hinted at in his allusion to the "cleric" above, his critical stance becomes more evident in the following passage, and culminates in his *Remarks and Opinions*:

As in Chile, so here, too, the Captain managed to accustom the Commandant and his officers to the hospitality of our table. We dined ashore under canvas, and our friends from the presidio usually did not keep us waiting long. This arrangement came about more or less naturally. The wretchedness in which they had been languishing for the past six or seven years, forgotten and abandoned by Mexico the motherland, prevented them from offering us their own hospitality. And the need to pour out their hearts drove them to us also, for we were a jolly and easy-going company. They spoke only with bitterness about the missionaries, who despite lack of outside supplies enjoyed an abundance of products from the land and yet, since at the time money had run out, would supply them [the Spanish soldiers] only on credit, and even then only with what was absolutely essential, and this didn't include bread or flour. They had been living on corn for years, without ever seeing bread. Even the military detachments stationed in every mission for its protection were provided with only the most basic commodities, and on credit also. "Our lords and masters are too kind-hearted!" Don Miguel exclaimed, meaning the Commandant. "They should



View of the San Francisco presidio in 1816. In the bay can be seen *Rurik*, recognizable by the two Russian naval ensigns that it is flying. Copy of a lithograph from a drawing by Choris, in his *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1822). Some of the details, notably those that suggest subjugation of the Indians, were not in Choris's original, but were added by later artists or engravers. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.

simply commandeer whatever we need and have it delivered!" One soldier went even further and complained that the Commandant wouldn't allow them to take prisoners from among the Indians on the other side of the bay and put them to work at the presidio, as was done in the missions. It was a cause of displeasure, too, that the new Governor in Monterey, Don Pablo Vicente de Solá, since assuming office, had been trying to curb smuggling, which was really all that kept them supplied with the barest necessities.¹¹

The main "event" of *Rurik's* visit to San Francisco was a meeting between the governor of Alta California and Ivan Kuskov, the agent of the Russian-American Company and commandant of Fort Ross, which Chamisso refers to as Port Bodega. (Properly, this name would refer to the small Russian sister colony protected by Fort Ross and situated just eighteen miles south of it at Bodega Bay.) The governor wanted the Russians out of the area, and Chamisso was inclined to sympathize with the Spanish viewpoint. In 1812, a time of peace, Alexander Baranov, who was in charge of the company's operations in Alaska, had ordered the settlement to be built on Spanish territory only half a day's journey by sea from San Francisco. It was strongly fortified, manned by twenty Russians and fifty Aleuts from Kodiak, and defended by a dozen cannon. Its purpose was to supply more northerly stations of the Russian-American Company with food, to which end they developed agriculture (including crops and the raising of cattle, horses, and sheep) and built a windmill. They also had a warehouse to store goods for illicit trade with the Spanish harbors along the coast, while their Kodiak Aleuts killed seals and a few thousand sea otters each year, whose pelts were worth a great deal of money (between \$80 and \$100 each) in the markets of Canton.

Governor Solá, who was coming up from Monterey to the San Francisco Presidio to greet Kotzebue in any case, requested him to invite Kuskov down from Ross. Chamisso acted as interpreter for this meeting, using Spanish and largely German, one assumes, rather than Russian, which he spoke only imperfectly. (Kotzebue would have been fluent in both Russian and German.) His account of the proceedings lends an irresistible comic-opera air to this encounter between minor representatives of great powers in an out-of-the-way corner of the globe. First he tells of the governor's arrival and of the attendant diplomatic gamesmanship between this older gentleman and the much younger and bumptious (perhaps intentionally provocative) Kotzebue:

... on the evening of the 16th, artillery salvos from the presidio and the fort announced the arrival of the Governor from Monterey. Immediately after this a messenger came down from the presidio requesting



Portrait thought to be of Captain George Vancouver, by Lemuel F. Abbot, in the National Portrait Gallery, London. (There is no authenticated portrait of Vancouver.) From a copy in the Library of the University of British Columbia. Vancouver visited San Francisco Bay in 1792 and 1793; his widely read account of the journey, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* (1798), increased European interest in fertile California. Courtesy of the University of British Columbia.

our doctor's assistance for two men who had been seriously injured when firing a cannon. Eschscholtz responded at once.

On the morning of the 17th, Captain von Kotzebue was waiting on board his ship for the first visit from the Governor of the province; and the Governor in his turn, an old man and a high-ranking officer, was waiting in the presidio for the first visit from Lieutenant von Kotzebue. The Captain chanced to hear that he was expected at the presidio, whereupon he sent me to the presidio with the awkward task of gently informing the Governor: that he, the Captain, had been informed that he, the Governor, had wanted to visit him on board ship that morning, and that he was expecting him. I found the little man in full dress uniform, complete with ribbons and medals, except for a sleeping cap that he was still wearing on his head, ready to snatch it off at a moment's notice. I carried out my mission as best I could and saw the man's face drop to three times its normal length. He bit his lip and said that, unfortunately, he had no stomach for the sea before eating and that he was sorry in the meantime to have to forego the pleasure of meeting

the Captain.—I had a vision of the old man climbing back on his horse and starting out on the return leg of his official trip across the wilderness to Monterey without accomplishing his mission; for there was no way that Captain von Kotzebue would back down in any manifest conflict of principle.

Reflecting on this, I was slinking back down to the shore when a good spirit intervened and, before further misunderstandings could arise, sealed the prevailing spirit of peace in the most beautiful bond of friendship. The morning had come and gone, and the hour had arrived when Captain von Kotzebue had to go ashore to shoot the sun at its zenith and to wind up his chronometers.—The lookouts who had been posted at the presidio announced that the Captain was coming; and as he stepped ashore, the Governor strode down the slope toward him. He in his turn went up the slope to meet the Governor, and half way up and half way down, Spain and Russia fell into each other's open arms.¹²

While they awaited Kuskov's arrival, entertainment was provided for the ship's company in the form of a fight between a bear and a bull, a popular sport in Spanish California that gave Chamisso no pleasure. Interesting, though, is that the bear had been captured for the occasion on the north shore of the bay, where bears were common at that time, Chamisso noted. Finally, however, Kuskov arrived and the conference got under way. All formalities and proprieties were observed, but the outcome . . . well, the outcome was perhaps what one might have anticipated:

In the forenoon hours of the 26th the diplomatic conference took place in the presidio. Don Pablo Vicente de Solá, Governor of New California, presented in the clearest light Spain's indisputable jurisdiction over the territory occupied by the Russian dependency under Mr. Kuskov, and required Mr. Kuskov to vacate the land that he was occupying in violation of international law. Mr. Kuskov, Agent of the Russian-American Trading Company and Commandant of the settlement at Port Bodega, without getting embroiled in the legal niceties, which he claimed were not his domain, testified to his utmost willingness to quit Port Bodega just as soon as he was authorized to do so by his superior, Mr. Baranov, who had ordered him there in the first place. At that, the Governor called upon Captain von Kotzebue to intervene in the name of the Czar and to effect the evacuation of Port Bodega. Otto von Kotzebue, Lieutenant of the Imperial Russian Navy and Captain of the *Rurik*, declared himself unauthorized to act in a matter in which, incidentally, the rights and wrongs seemed so clear to him that they needed no more than articulation to be recognized.—And with that, we had reached the point we started from.

Hereupon, it was their pleasure to prepare an official written statement of the day's negotiations and

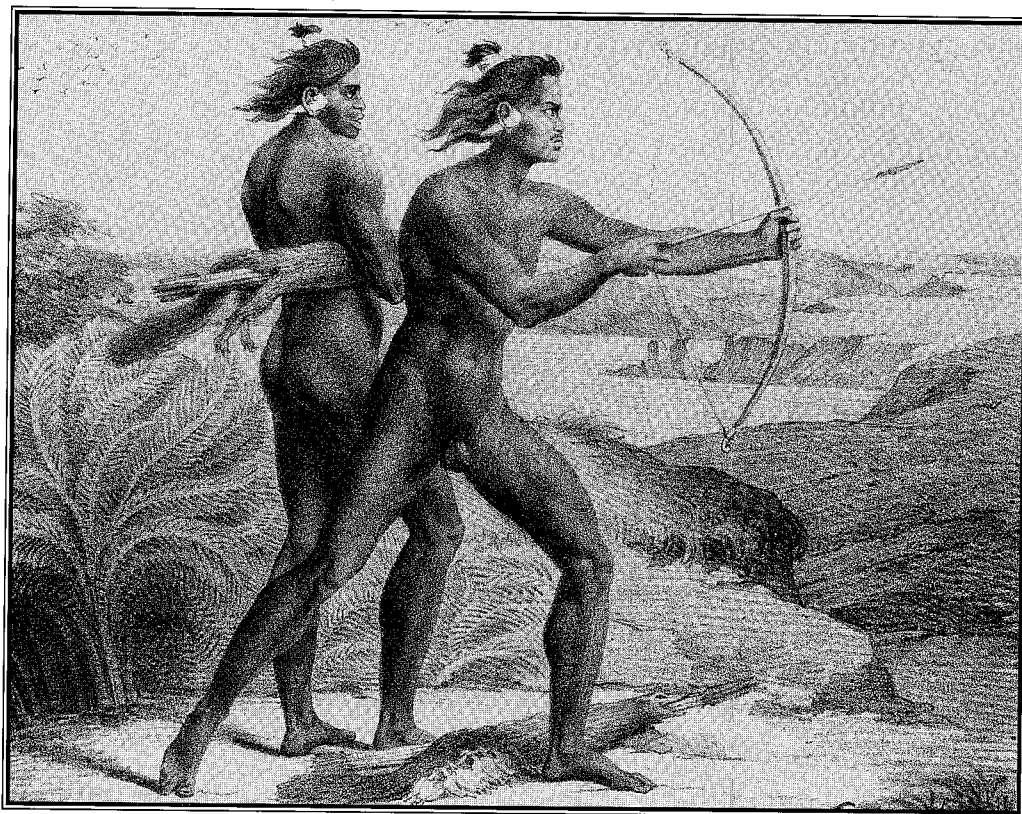
of the present state of affairs and to have this statement signed and sealed in duplicate by all participants in said negotiations and dispatched to His Majesty the Czar of Russia by the Captain of the *Rurik* and to His Majesty the King of Spain by the Governor of New California.

As interpreter, I had to supervise the proper form of this document, which was drawn up in Spanish. . . .

I have heard that the said statement safely reached its proper destination in St. Petersburg, where without ever being acted on it was officially filed in the appropriate ministry. But Don Pablo Vicente de Solá, Gobernador de la Nueva California, is said to have been sent a Russian order of merit [presumably for not having pushed the issue further than he did]. As an acknowledgement of my valued services, I received a beautiful otter pelt from Mr. Kuskov, and you can see this very one today in the Zoological Museum in Berlin, to which I presented it.¹³

It is certainly true that neither Kuskov nor Kotzebue was authorized to act in the matter of Fort Ross, which remained in Russian hands until sold to Captain John Sutter in 1841. However, it is also fair to say that the Russians were less than candid in their dealings with the Spaniards. Even before all participants in the conference had returned home, Kuskov (with Kotzebue's knowledge) sent two of his Fort Ross *bidarkas* to hunt otters at the far end of the bay.

With regard to the activities of foreigners in the province, California in the second decade of the nineteenth century was drifting ever farther away from Spanish rule. Indeed, as Chamisso could see, Spanish authority had seriously broken down, and the area was too far from centers of power for Spain to reassert it. As an officer in the Imperial Russian Navy, Kotzebue was called upon to play a part in regulating other matters of Spanish-Russian relations also, for the governor would not treat further with Kuskov since he was only an agent of a private company and, to the Spaniards, illegally residing in California. The governor availed himself of Kotzebue's presence to try to rid himself of some unwanted alien prisoners, including a few Aleutians or Kodiakans, whose barbarous treatment by the Russians Chamisso deploras in this and other parts of his report. An interesting individual among these prisoners was a certain John Eliot de Castro, a half-English, half-Portuguese adventurer who had earlier been the private physician of King Kamehameha of Hawaii and who had been captured by the Spaniards when in the employ of the Russian-American Company. It was this man who, when taking passage on *Rurik* to Hawaii, taught Chamisso the rudiments of the Hawaiian language, which with time grew into



Indians hunting by San Francisco Bay. A. L. Kroeber (*Handbook of the Indians of California*, 1953) call this group the Chulamni. They were probably a subgroup of the Costanoans (Ohlone). Copy of a lithograph from a drawing by Choris, in his *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1822). Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.

a knowledge sufficient for Chamisso to write the first grammar of Hawaiian, a pioneering work that appeared in 1837.

In Monterey at that time there were prisoners of various nations, who had been attracted to these coasts by smuggling, sea otter hunting, or simply adventure, and who had visited upon them individually the collective sins of all their confraternity. Among them were a few Aleutians or Kodiakans, with whom seven years previously the captain of an American ship had been engaged in otter hunting in the Spanish harbors along the coast. The Russians do not just exploit these northern peoples for their own purposes, but hire them out to others to exploit for a half share in the profits. I have encountered Kodiakans dispersed even as far as the Sandwich Islands [i.e., Hawaiian Islands]. Among the prisoners in Monterey there was also a Mr. John Eliot de Castro. . . . After many adventures as supercargo on one of Mr. Baranov's Russian-American Company ships, dispatched from Sitka to engage in smuggling on the California coast, he had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards along with some other members of his crew. Besides these prisoners there were also three Russians, old servants of the Russian-American Company who had deserted from the Port Bodega settlement and now, missing the language and customs of their homeland, were probably regretting their earlier step.

Don Pablo Vicente de Solá offered to hand the Russian prisoners (for him the Aleutians and Kodiakans were also Russians) over to the Captain, while he refused them to Mr. Kuskov. It does not appear that the Spaniards required any services or tried to derive any advantage from these people, whom Russian greed had cruelly separated from their homeland in order to rent them out for money here. The King of Spain paid, or was supposed to pay, compensation of one and a half *reales* a day for each prisoner. The Captain, with limited accommodation at his disposal, could accept only the three Russian deserters on board and was able to offer Mr. Eliot transit only as far as the Sandwich Islands, from where he could easily reach Sitka or wherever else he pleased to go. The Governor sent for these three Russians, and when they arrived he delivered them into Captain von Kotzebue's care after requiring and receiving his solemn word of honor that, since they had sought and found protection from Spain, they would not be punished in any way. I found his conduct most noble in this matter.¹⁴

In his *Remarks and Opinions*, Chamisso is generally more objectively informative and less personal and anecdotal than in his *Diary*. Important exceptions to this occur when he comments indignantly on the Franciscan mission and on the part played by distant Spain in the life of the province. He also shows insight into what could and would become of California

under a different regime, for under Spain, development and growth were severely restricted. He already saw changes coming, however, for he records that (in 1790) Spain had conceded trading rights to Britain in the Nootka Sound area (in present-day British Columbia, Canada) and that the British and Americans were simply ignoring Spanish sovereignty on the lower Columbia River, where the Lewis and Clark expedition had reached the Pacific only ten years earlier.

It is with a feeling of sadness that I set down my views on the Spanish settlements along this coast. Envy, acquisitiveness, and the wish to keep others out are the sole motives for Spanish occupation of the area. Spain maintains its presidios at enormous expense, and through the total prohibition of trade by other nations seeks to make all money thus spent flow back to its source. Yet a little freedom would soon make California the granary and marketplace of these northern sea coasts and of the ships that ply them. Wheat, cattle, salt (at San Quintin in Old California), and wine (whose increased production would push up demand) give it various advantages over the Sandwich Islands, whose position on the trade routes between China and the north-west coast is, of course, superior. And with industry and shipping, the Daughters of Liberty, who could share more advantageously in this trade than the people of California, which at present has an abundance of sea otters along all its coasts?

Yet without industry, trade, and shipping California remains desolate and unpopulated. For six to seven years during the civil conflicts between Spain and its colonies, it languished forgotten and without supplies from Mexico. It was only recently, in fact during our stay here, that the ship from San Blas, which had once supplied the settlements annually, resumed its visits to Monterey.¹⁵

Among the most interesting passages in *Remarks and Opinions* are those devoted to the missionaries and to the condition of the Indians. Given relatively recent debates on this subject, and in view of a certain residual romanticizing in California of life in the missions, Chamisso's critical first-hand account remains relevant even today:

The Spaniards claim non-political motives for maintaining their settlements in California—namely, the pious intention to spread the Christian faith and convert the heathen. Even the Governor of the province told us that this was the true reason for the Spanish presence. Well, then, so be it—but if that is the case, then here is a worthy task perversely begun and badly executed.

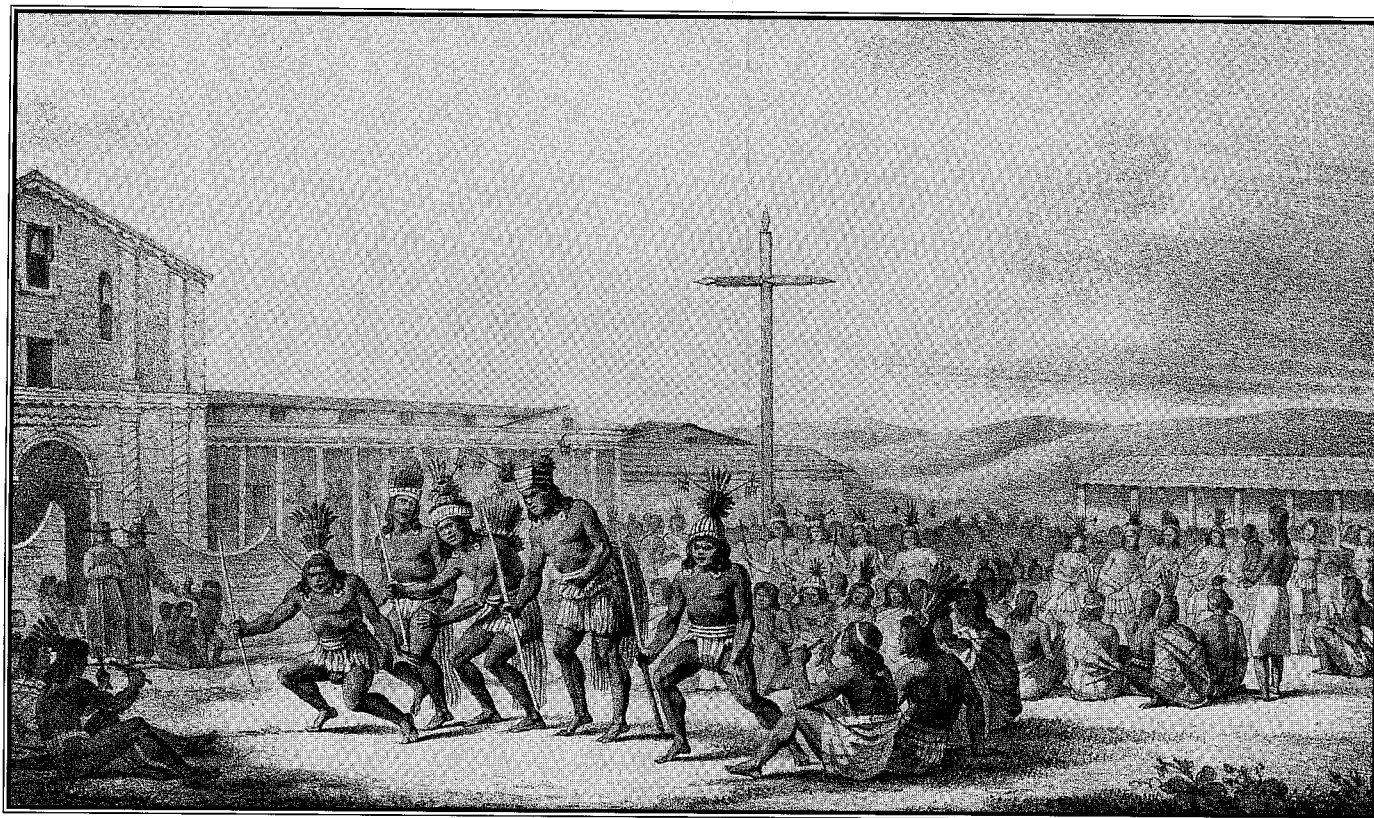
The pious Franciscans who maintain the missions in New California are trained in none of the arts and crafts they are supposed to practice and teach here; they are schooled in none of the languages spoken by

the peoples to whom they are sent. They are monks of the sort that one can find in any European monastery. In each mission, two missionaries run a large farm, hold church services, and communicate with their charges through interpreters who are themselves Indians. All property belongs to the mission and is administered by the fathers. The Indians themselves derive no direct benefit from their work. Nor do they receive any pay, should they be hired out to the presidio as day laborers. It is the mission, this rational construct, that receives the meager wages that they earn. They never get to know the meaning of property, and so cannot be tied down by it. We acknowledge the missionaries' kindness and fatherly solicitude, various instances of which we witnessed. Yet the relationship between the missionaries and the Indians remains as I have portrayed it and would, in my opinion, differ only in name if a *slavemaster* kept them for work and for hiring out at his pleasure. The slavemaster, too, would feed them.

The natives come into the mission without much forethought, are glad to accept the food they are offered, listen to the missionaries' teachings—and are still free. But once they received baptism, they belong to the Church and henceforth will look back with longing, but in vain, to the mountains of home. The Church has an inalienable right to their children and vindicates this right here with force. Can this surprise anyone when the motherland still harbors the Inquisition? The natives are unthinking and changeable like children. Unaccustomed work is too hard for them, they regret the decision that binds them, and they long for the freedom into which they were born. And great, too, is their love for their home. The priests usually grant their charges a few weeks' holiday twice a year so that they can visit their relatives and birthplace. On the occasion of these journeys, which they undertake in large groups, *apostates* desert and *neophytes* join. These apostates, who become the Spaniards' bitterest enemies, are first visited by the missionaries on official tours of duty, when they try to win them back by means of kindness. But if this fails, armed force is used against them. That is the cause of many hostile encounters between the Spaniards and the Indians.

The Indians are dying out in the missions at a dreadful rate. Their people is becoming extinct. San Francisco has about a thousand Indians, but the number of dead last year exceeded 300, and by October of this year the number has already reached 270, of whom 40 died last month alone. The number of converts, however, must exceed the number of apostates and the huge number of deaths. We were told of five new missions that had been founded in the province since Vancouver's time [i.e., since 1794]. On the other hand, several of the Dominican missions in Old California have already closed, and the tribes that were converted to the faith there can be regarded as more or less extinct today.

There is no medical treatment available here apart



Indians dancing in front of the church at Mission San Francisco. Copy of a lithograph from a drawing by Choris, in his *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1822). Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.

from bleeding (which is supposed to have been introduced by a ship's doctor), and since this is used for every affliction, it is said merely to hasten death. Particularly one illness [syphilis?], which the Europeans probably brought here (though opinions are divided on the matter), carried off its victims without their being able to offer any resistance. It also affected wild tribes, though they are not disappearing from the face of the earth with the same dreadful rapidity. The number of whites on the other hand is increasing.

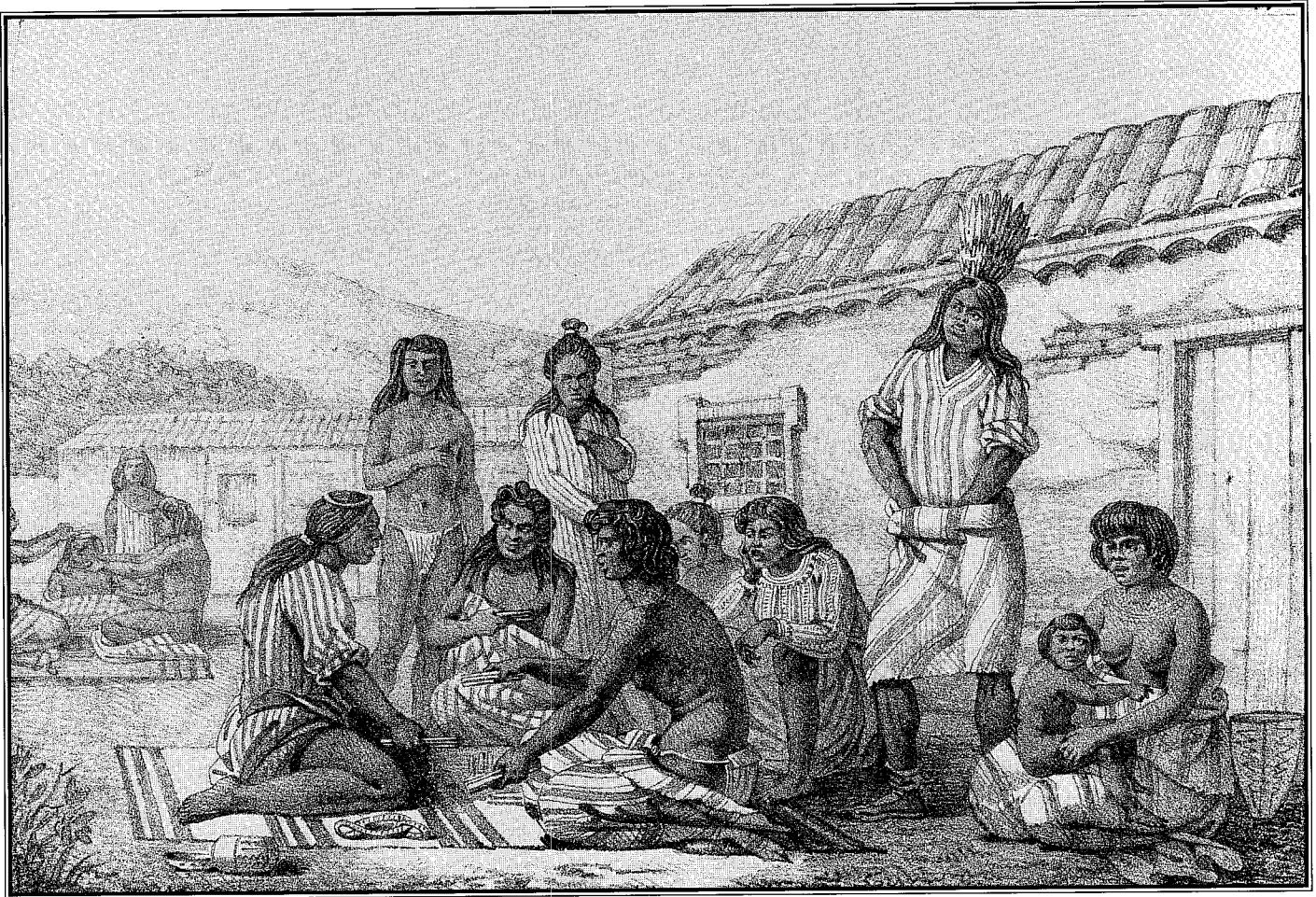
The contempt in which the missionaries hold the peoples to whom they are sent seems to us an unfortunate circumstance given their purpose. None of them seems to have had any concern for the Indians' history, customs, beliefs, or language. Instead, one hears: "They are stupid savages, and that's all there is to it! Who would want to pay any heed to their stupidity or waste any time on it?"¹⁶

Fortunately, life on the mission was not altogether without some brighter interludes for the Indians. Chamisso gives some account of these also:

The priests sent their Indians out to our anchorage in the mission boat just so that they could look at

our ship, which was a new sight for them. The mission Indians perform their national dances under the eyes of the fathers on Sundays, and they also play their customary games of chance, always for a stake. In fact, they may gamble away everything they own except for their one garment, a piece of coarse woollen cloth from the mission factory. They are also permitted their customary steam baths [i.e., sweat baths]. Their dances are wild, vary from people to people, and are performed to music, usually without words, that is sung or hummed. Their games of chance involve two players, who rapidly show sticks, even or uneven, while a referee watches and keeps score, also with sticks. The Indians' traditional bath, like that of most northern peoples, is as follows: They sit by the edge of the sea in a cave at whose entrance a fire is built, and when they have sweated enough they let the fire go out, then run over it, and plunge into the sea.¹⁷

Chamisso was not long enough in California to get to know the Indians very well, or he might have made many additional firsthand observations on their lives and customs, as he did for the Pacific islanders. As it is, the remainder of what he wrote (e.g., on the Indians' appearance, weapons, and languages), though



California mission Indians playing a game of chance. Chamisso describes such a game in *Remarks and Opinions*. Copy of a lithograph from a drawing by Choris, in his *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1822). Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.

not lacking in interest, appears to have derived at least in part from what he heard in San Francisco or gathered from the reports of earlier visitors.

Chamisso's *Diary* also recorded his farewell to San Francisco, this time marked by an equitable exchange of salutes between the Spaniards and the Russians:

On November 1, 1816, All Saints' Day, we raised anchor at nine o'clock in the morning while our friends were in church. We saw them arriving at the fort just as we were sailing past. With one shot from their cannon they ran up the Spanish flag, while we ran up our own. They saluted us first with seven guns, to which we responded shot for shot.¹⁸

Rurik was now bound for the islands of the Pacific, and Chamisso was headed for new experiences that would have a profound and lasting influence on him as a naturalist, ethnographer, and linguist. He never

visited California again. Though his sojourn there was short, his accounts of it, ranging from his scientific articles to his travelogues, with their perceptiveness and their occasional humor and pathos, have earned him a place of respect among early writers about California.

CHS

See notes beginning on page 70.

Edward Mornin earned his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Glasgow, Scotland. A professor of German at the University of British Columbia, Canada, he has numerous publications in the field of German literature, particularly German Romanticism and the Scottish-German individualist-anarchist writer John Henry Mackay. Dr. Mornin's present research focuses on the poems and travelogues of Adelbert von Chamisso.

JOSEPH BIXIO, Furtive Founder of the University of San Francisco

by Cornelius Michael Buckley, S. J.

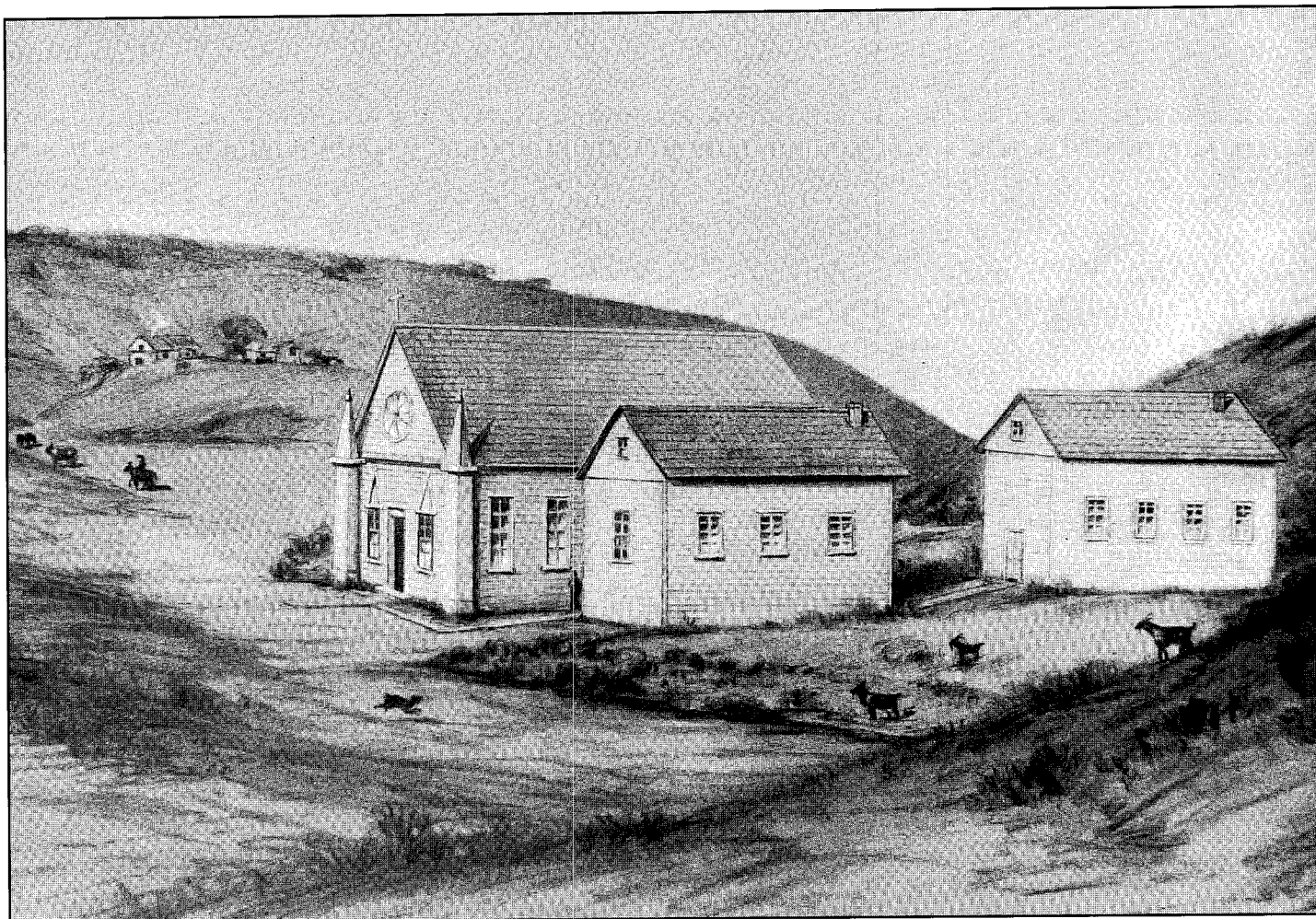
Student docents on the campus of the University of San Francisco today point out to visitors a bust poised on a plinth in a hidden part of the gardens and they say, "That is Fr. Anthony Maraschi. He is the founder and first president of the University." Expanding on their subject, they add that in 1855 Maraschi and Fr. Michael Accolti, whose aristocratic portrait adorns the university's much-frequented Accolti Room, established the institution that has evolved into USF. With reason, Anthony Maraschi (1820–1897) and Michael Accolti (1807–1878) are well-known names on the campus, and they should be: both men are prominent in the early history of Jesuits in California and of St. Ignatius College, which became the University of San Francisco in 1930.

In March 1849 Accolti was a missionary on the Willamette River in Oregon, where he described to a fellow missionary the large crowd of people who had just returned from California: "Some with two thousand, others with three thousand, still others with as much as seven thousand dollars in their pockets in gold ore, bullion, silver money and gold-dust procured in two or three weeks of light and convenient toil." He told about the exodus occurring about him. "Gold, gold, gold," he continued, "It's the watchword of the day. Go where you will, people speak of nothing but gold. Old and young, women and children, lay-folk and ecclesiastics, all have on their lips only the word *gold*. It's amusing to listen to everybody's plans and calculations, dreams and reveries."¹ Accolti himself was soon caught in the flood. After being given permission, "very reluctantly," by the superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission, whose headquarters was with the Coeur d'Alene Indians in present-day Idaho, Accolti and John Nobili (1818–1865), another Italian-born Jesuit, joined the flow of fortune seekers

going to California.² Years later, Accolti reflected on the San Francisco that greeted them on their arrival in December 1849: "whether it ought to be called Madhouse or Babylon, I am at a loss to determine, so great in those days was the disorder, the brawling, the open immorality and the reign of brazen-faced crime on a soil not yet under the sway of human laws."³

Ostensibly, the two Jesuits came for the spiritual welfare of the prospectors, adventurers, and immigrants pouring in from all over the world. But gold-seeking fever was a virus easily, subtly, acquired. No sooner had they arrived in San Francisco than the enthusiastic Accolti wrote to his superior asking that two stout Jesuit lay-brothers be sent to California to stake out a gold mine claim. The amount of money they could make, he argued, would solve the perennial financial problems of the Rocky Mountain Mission and assure that the fathers would not have to worry about being deprived of "a good cup of coffee."⁴ In far-off Idaho, however, the proposition did not seem so attractive. No brothers were sent to stake out a claim and, presumably, the two Jesuits had to find other means to supply them with their customary Italian-style coffee.

Although "stout" brothers did not arrive, another man did, and he was quick to set out a claim of his own on the two Jesuit priests. He was Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P. (1807–1878), the newly appointed bishop of Monterey and all California, and he sailed into San Francisco in December 1850. Three months later he gave Nobili one hundred dollars and sent him forty miles south to found Santa Clara College at Mission Santa Clara. In 1853 the Spanish-born Alemany became San Francisco's first archbishop, leaving his see in Monterey for permanent residence in a boisterous San Francisco. The following March, he was

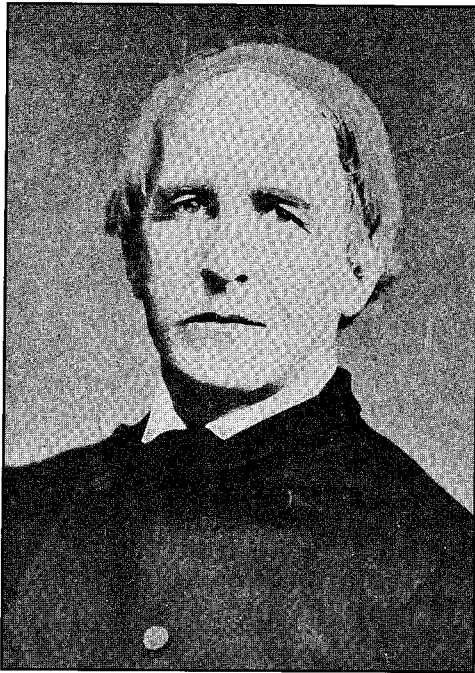


"We lived in a hole surrounded by sand hills," recalled one of the early Jesuits who arrived at St. Ignatius Academy shortly after its founding. "Toward the city, which was some distance to the east, and from which we were cut off by barriers of sand," his recollection continued, "there was but one house, and that the shanty of a milkman on the adjoining lot." The church and academy, illustrated here in an 1855 drawing, were located in a pastoral basin then known as St. Ann's Valley, approximately at present-day Fifth and Market streets, now the site of the San Francisco Centre. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

on hand to welcome to the bustling city four more Italian Jesuits, three of whom soon made their way to Santa Clara. Anthony Maraschi, the fourth, was to remain in San Francisco. No sooner had he unpacked his bags than Alemany encouraged him to think about building a church and college somewhere in the sand dunes beyond where Market Street ended. Accordingly, Maraschi purchased a lot on the continuation of Market between what would become Fourth and Fifth streets, and here on July 15, 1855, the first St. Ignatius Church was dedicated. By October, two additional smaller buildings took their places as sentinels beside the frame church, which measured 75 feet in length and 35 feet in width. One of these shed-like buildings was designated the schoolroom of the inchoate St. Ignatius Academy; the other, a two-room "residence" for the fathers.⁵

On October 15, 1855, St. Ignatius opened its doors

to receive students. It was an eventful day in the history of what was destined to evolve into San Francisco's oldest university. The savored details contain all the stuff of which legends are made—along with distortions that confuse historical facts. Legend says that Maraschi and Accolti were on hand to greet the boys who showed up that October morning to enroll in class. The fact is, however, that Accolti was by then far from San Francisco. Standing on the threshold of the schoolroom and towering over Maraschi was another Jesuit, a strikingly handsome, nervous man, with an athletic build and a commanding, genial presence. His name was Joseph Bixio. Somewhat understandably—and most regretfully—both the name and the man have long since slipped silently into oblivion, unacknowledged by historians of San Francisco and California.



The Reverend Joseph Bixio, S. J. When St. Ignatius Academy opened in October 1855, Bixio joined Fr. Anthony Maraschi in greeting the three enrollees and served with him as a founder and first teacher. Although Bixio was appointed to other duties just a few months later, and left the state several times, the tall, genial Italian served in California for more than twenty-five years. He died in Santa Clara in March 1889, and is buried at Mission Santa Clara. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

The omission of Joseph Bixio's name as one of the two foundings fathers of the academy (which was chartered St. Ignatius College on April 30, 1859) is understandable, because the following January, Archbishop Alemany asked Fr. Bixio, whom he seems to have trusted and liked, to minister to the Catholics in Redwood City, San Mateo, Menlo Park, and even Half Moon Bay, on the Pacific Coast. The result was that Fr. Accolti was called back to San Francisco to take over Bixio's classes, and with his return, Bixio had to find somewhere else to live. According to one historian, "the [Jesuit] residence was small and poor, and the accommodations so scant" that there was not enough sleeping room on the bare floor for three men. Bixio, whose new duties gave him some flexibility as to his residence, moved to Santa Clara College, which, for the next three years, he made his headquarters.⁶ The fact that his name conjures up no recognition is also regretful because, of the many early Jesuits who came to California in the mid-nineteenth century, Joseph Bixio is probably one of the most colorful, and certainly his family background is unparalleled. His life was full of that type of high adventure and derring-do that entitles him to a respected place among the notable characters in California's history.

He was born Giuseppe Bixio—"Pippo" for short—into what was a bizarre, if not a dysfunctional, family, in Genoa, May 23, 1819. Three of his brothers and one sister survived childhood. One older brother, Francesco, followed the father's trade as a silversmith, worked in the Kingdom of Sardinia's mint, and pre-

sumably died early. The other two became famous. Joseph's older brother, Alessandro, better known in French history as Jacques-Alexandre, is remembered in both Italy and France for different reasons. He was born in 1808 at Chiavari, which at the time was in the Apeninne *département* of Napoleon's French Empire. Alexandre Stechs, the local sub-prefect, was not only his godfather, but, for all practical purposes, his adopted father.

After the reverses of the French in northern Italy in 1813, Stechs took Alessandro to Paris, prefixing 'Jacques' to his gallicized baptismal name. In 1830, Jacques-Alexandre Bixio earned a degree of doctor of medicine, but the twenty-two-year-old physician was more interested in journalism and became active in the many secret political groups opposing the government of King Louis-Philippe. After co-founding the illustrious *Revue des Deux Mondes* that continues to be published to this day, Bixio became one of the editors of the republican daily, *National*. In the wake of the February Revolution of 1848, he was elected vice-president of the Constituent Assembly and was later sent as representative of France to Turin, the capital of the Kingdom of Sardinia. Although the details of his sparkling political career are outside the scope of this article, it is enough to say that he was wounded by a bullet in a Paris scuffle during the June Days of 1848 and that one of the first acts of Louis Napoleon, after he assumed the presidency in 1851, was to name Fr. Joseph Bixio's older brother Jacques-Alexandre minister of agriculture and commerce.

Among the French, however, Jacques-Alexandre is best known for his association with the Saint-Simonsians and for his interest in economic planning initiatives, science, the arts, and engineering projects such as building the Suez and Panama canals. His close connection with the Péreire brothers, Jewish financiers and brokers who founded the *Crédit Mobilier* in 1852, made him a very rich man who speculated in the international market. In 1837, he founded the *Journal d'Agriculture pratique*, and in 1849, he appointed his chemist friend Jean-Alexandre Barral (1819–1884) manager of this review, which popularized scientific data. In 1850 Bixio and Barral made their legendary balloon flight to determine the composition, temperature, and degree for hydrometry of air in higher atmospheric regions. They ascended

7,000 meters and verified the hypothesis of the causes of halos and paraselenae. In 1856, Bixio persuaded a number of his friends, including such luminaries as Alexandre Dumas, Prosper Mérimée, Eugène Delacroix, and Duke Élie Decazes, to join him for an evening of good food and conversation. This was the first "*dîner Bixio*," which became until 1914 a continental event in Paris and even after his death a soirée to which artists, authors, poets, and politicians from all over Europe begged to be invited. Although for most of his life Jacques-Alexandre was a positivist with strong anti-clerical sentiments, he became a Protestant shortly before his death, which occurred in Paris on December 16, 1865.⁷

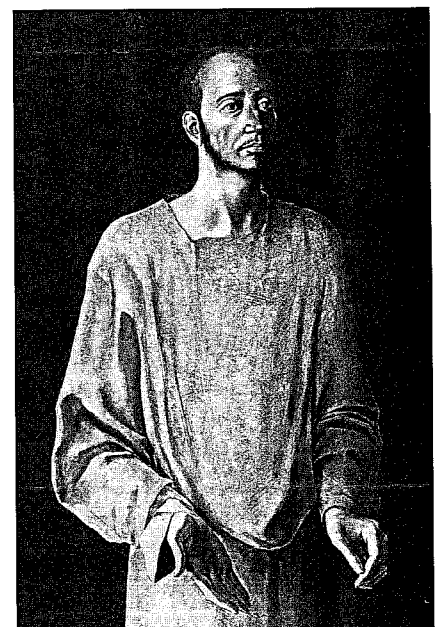
Known in Italian history by the name Alessandro, this same brother is remembered for his close ties with Count Camillo Cavour (1810–1861), who in 1847 founded the newspaper *Il Risorgimento* (*The Resurgence*), the peerless trumpet of Italian unification. In 1850 Cavour was made minister of commerce and agriculture and two years later, prime minister of the Kingdom of Sardinia, a position he held, with one short interruption, until his death in 1861. Cavour, who was credited as the architect of the Italian state, relied in no small measure on the economic and political power wielded by Alessandro Bixio. With French money, Bixio reorganized the banking system of Piedmont, obtained favorable loans for the Sardinian government, and built railroads throughout the kingdom. Cavour relied upon him to arrange for his famous July 1858 meeting with Napoleon III at Plombières, where the secret accord that sealed the future of Italy was hammered out. Alessandro was a proto-Europeanist, and his son Maurice (1836–1906), who had fought for the unification of Italy in 1859–1860, inherited his

father's entrepreneurial talents and became one of Europe's most powerful international businessmen. Rue Bixio, a Parisian street near Napoleon I's tomb, testifies to his importance in French history and gives witness to the fact that if Bixio is a name forgotten in San Francisco, it has been perpetuated in Paris.⁸ Fr. Joseph Bixio certainly had contacts with his older brother Alessandro, but just how frequent and cordial these were is not known. However dysfunctional the Bixio family was, emotional ties between the individual members were close.

In 1838, while Jacques-Alexandre was busy editing his various liberal periodicals, Joseph entered the Jesuit novitiate of the Turin Province. He was nineteen years old. Ten years later, while he was teaching at the Jesuit College of Cagliari on the island of Sardinia, a revolution, similar to that in which his older brother had played such a preeminent role in France, flared up in Piedmont.⁹ History shows that the Jesuits were to the Left what the Jews are to the Right, and so with the revolution came the suppression of the order throughout the whole Kingdom of Sardinia. In panic the Jesuits fled for their lives. Even though the Bixios of Genoa were leaders the anti-clerical faction, Joseph and some of his companions found hidden protection and temporary refuge in the paternal residence. Ties of *la familia* were more binding than those of *la patria*.¹⁰ Indeed, in correspondence among

Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), founder of the Roman Catholic Society of Jesus and namesake for St. Ignatius College (renamed University of San Francisco in 1930). Born in Guipuzcoa, Spain, Ignatius in his youth spent time as a page in the court of Spanish rulers Ferdinand and Isabella. He also—by his later admission—gambled, caroused, duelled, and was in constant trouble with the law. In 1517 he enlisted in the Spanish army; in his only major battle, an ill-fated defense of Pamplona against the French in 1521, he was injured in the leg by a cannonball, leaving him with a permanent limp. While convalescing, Ignatius read biographies of Jesus and the saints, underwent a spiritual conversion, and vowed to dedicate the rest of his life to religious service. In 1534 he founded the Society of Jesus, commonly called the Jesuits, devoted to improving Catholic education and curbing the spread of Protestantism through extensive missionary work.

His influential *Spiritual Exercises*, first published in 1548 and still in print today, prescribed meditation, visualization, and annual, solitary retreats for all Christians. He died in Rome at age sixty-five and was canonized in 1622. The statue shown here, which memorializes him, stands in Spain. Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.



THE NATIONAL.

GEO. PEN JOHNSTON, Editor.

MONDAY MORNING, August 16th, 1858.

DAY SCHOOL AT ST. IGNATIUS

Market Street, bet. Fourth & Fifth,

SAN FRANCISCO.

Directed by Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

THE FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION OF this Institution will commence on the 1st day of September, 1858, with accommodations much better than heretofore.

TERMS:

Rhetoric, Grammar, Composition, Elocution, Mathematics, Book-Keeping, Arithmetic, Ancient and Modern Languages, History, Geography, Penmanship, Vocal Music—per month, including Stationery..... \$8 00
Preparatory Department, per month, including Stationery 5 00
Three lessons in Drawing, per week, of one hour each will be given for an extra charge of \$2 00 per month.

Schools hours from 9 A. M. to 3 P. M. No school on Thursdays and holidays. On every Monday tickets are given for punctual attendance, good conduct, and excellence in recitation, to such as deserved them in the previous week. Average attendance last session, sixty-five pupils, under the care of six Professors.

A. MARASCHI, S. J., Principal.

A NIGHT SCHOOL for Book-Keeping, Arithmetic, and Modern Languages, will be formed as soon as sufficient attendance is secured.

The San Francisco *National*, August 16, 1858, announced the commencement of St. Ignatius's fourth academic year beginning September 1. With the previous year's enrollment at sixty-five students, the "middle school" curriculum, for tuition of eight dollars a year, "including stationery," offered such courses as rhetoric, grammar, composition, languages, and mathematics, and a student-teacher ratio of roughly ten to one. Night classes were also planned. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

family members, the word *familia*, like *Dio* and *Italia*, was always capitalized.

Many of the Sardinian exiles, Joseph among them, found refuge in Maryland, where the Jesuits, well established, were hospitable to them. Joseph finished his studies at Woodstock College, near Baltimore, was ordained a priest in 1851, and was assigned to keep

the faith alive among Irish railroad workers in northern Virginia. These itinerant families, whose conditions were as bad as, if not worse than, the black slaves, followed the expanding railroad lines. Meanwhile, in early 1854 Michael Accolti traveled to Rome and persuaded the Jesuit general to designate California a separate mission under the direction of the dispersed Turin Province. The general acquiesced and the Turin provincial-in-exile ordered a number of his charges in Maryland to proceed to California and place themselves under the obedience of the new mission superior.¹¹ Bixio, however, was an exception. When he realized that his status had not changed, he wrote a letter of complaint in English to the Maryland provincial, Charles Stonestreet, telling him that "I can say by long experience that *this railroad life* during the winter, and spring, owing to the cold of the country, and the strange changes of weather, does not suit at all my delicate health." He confessed that three years of sleeping "under the badly roofed Irish shanteys, exposed to the inclemency of the weather," resulted in his having a perpetual cough. It was not the work; it was the unhealthy Virginia weather that had such a deleterious effect.¹² The letter served well its purpose. Joseph Bixio arrived in San Francisco the following year.

From the outset, however, it seems that Fr. Bixio was not challenged by his California assignments, despite the fact that a man of ordinary strength and energy would have been exhausted traveling on horseback over such a large area and visiting so many mission sites. Soon he was itching to return to Virginia, and, according to Giovanni Battista Ponte, the provincial of the Turin province, he gave the most extraordinary reason for doing so. In August 1860, Ponte informed the Jesuit general by letter that "Father Bixio has returned to the Maryland [province]. He wrote to me many months ago telling me that he had consulted doctors who advised him that the climate in California would be the death of him. I wrote him back saying that he should be patient and await the arrival of the visitor." By this, Ponte meant a representative from the general sent to inspect the colleges at Santa Clara and San Francisco. The "visitor" would interview men, such as Bixio, about whom superiors in Europe were showing concern. But, Ponte informed the general, Father Bixio could not wait that long. Moreover, the provincial reported that Bixio's superior at Santa Clara, "a man of great virtue but not qualified for the job," informed him that Fr. Bixio had departed California with bad feelings toward the superior, and that

The Most Reverend Joseph Sadoc Alemany, D.D. (1814-1888), above, was ordained a Dominican priest in Italy in 1837. Shortly thereafter he came to the United States and from 1841 to 1849 served as a missionary in Ohio, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Provincial of the Dominican order in the U.S. from 1848 to 1850, he was consecrated bishop of Monterey in Rome. He died in Valencia, Spain. Below, Fr. Anthony Maraschi, S.J. Fr. Maraschi spent forty-three years in San Francisco, from 1854 to 1897. He served as superior and first president of St. Ignatius College from 1855 to 1862. One description called him "seemingly cold and distant, but for all of that, possessing a warm heart." Maraschi, a man of action, not of words, possessed strong business acumen and foresight. He is also credited with the founding of the college's football program.

Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.



after he left, he had written a letter to the superior in which he suggested that he had been banished from California because of the superior's feelings toward him.

"To a great extent I blame the weather there for Father Bixio's bizarre behavior," Ponte declared. He went on to say that the California climate was causing "the same brain sickness" in other Jesuits at Santa Clara. Expanding on this subject, Ponte advised the general that he had received letters from a number of other priests at the college that made him wonder if all three "had become Protestants." On the other hand, one man had written to say that the most serious infraction of the Rule "was the failure to sing the Saturday litanies of Our Lady." It was all very confusing to Ponte. He admitted that he did not know what to make of situation, but one thing was sure: it was good that Fr. Bixio was now enjoying a more salubrious climate.¹³

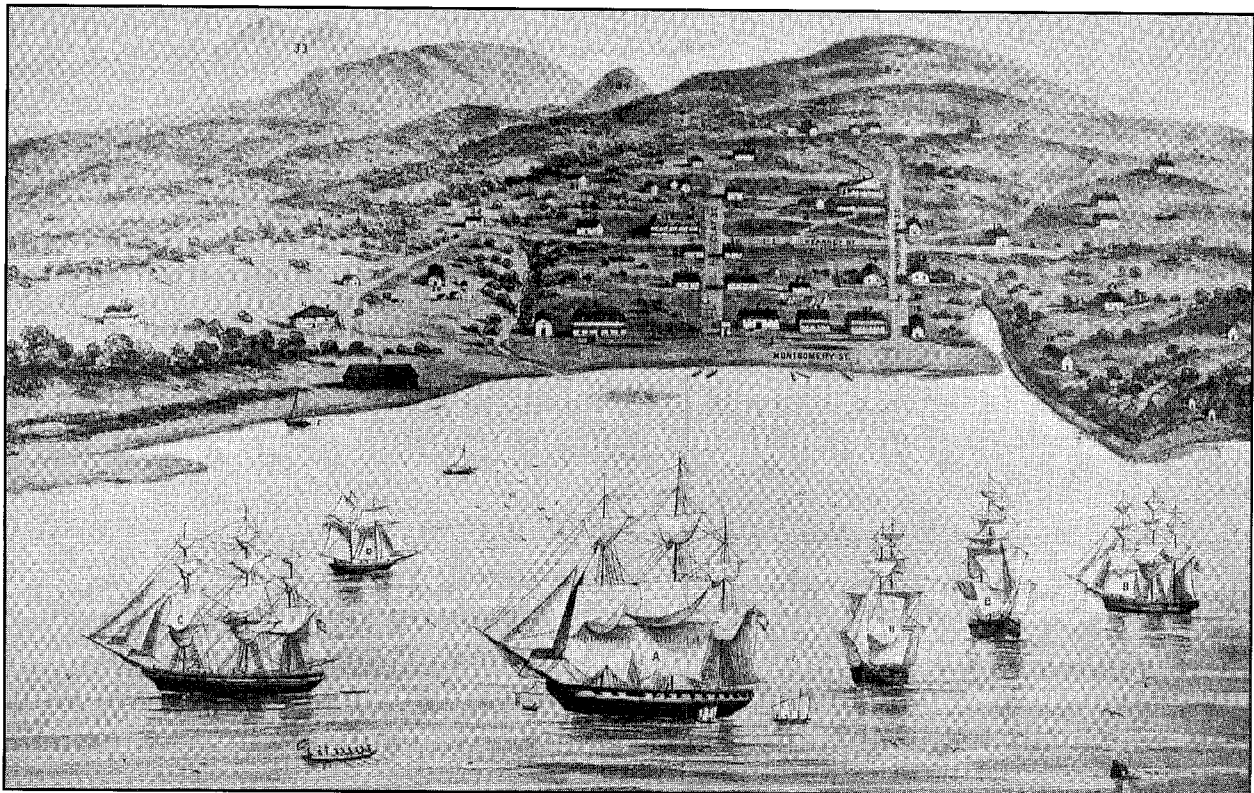
As the general was reading this report and savoring its gentle irony, Bixio was thriving in the August climate of Virginia, having arrived there in the late winter of 1859-60. He was on his own, without bridle or bit, a factor that surely appealed to his native independence. The diagnosis of California doctors notwithstanding, it was the political, not the atmospheric, climate that had affected his spirit. The 1860 presidential campaign and regional animosities over the slavery conflict made the possibility of war a reality in Bixio's former stomping grounds, and the territory he could now cover was not restricted to the size of a few California counties. What was said of Jacques-Alexandre could well have applied to Joseph: "Cultured and cultivated, having a lively, curious mind, Bixio was not content to follow political events



from afar or to take part in 'great adventures' from a desk."¹⁴

We know from extant correspondence that in April 1860 the ubiquitous Jesuit was chaplain to the students at the Visitation convent in Wheeling.¹⁵ His parish, however, was farther south. A detailed letter written by Louis-Hippolyte Gache (1817–1907), the chaplain of the 10th Louisiana Volunteers, summarized Bixio's activities, which crossed northern lines without apparent repercussions. Writing to a fellow Jesuit in January 1862, the French-born Gache reported that he had recently paid a visit to Richmond, where he met the sly Genoese. "When war broke out," Gache informed his Alabama correspondent, "Father Bixio had been pastor of a parish that lay on both sides of the Virginia-Maryland border. During the battle of Manassas he happened to be in the Virginia part of his parish, and ever since he has not been able to return to the Maryland side. But this hasn't bothered him a bit; he has simply volunteered as a Confeder-

ate chaplain. He seems to be quite successful in the various places where he serves, and he has the good fortune to be in a part of the country where he has known many people as long as ten years."¹⁶ The Battle of Manassas, called Bull Run by northerners, took place on July 21, 1861, within the confines of Bixio's parish. A visiting British artillery lieutenant later wrote an account of what he had observed of Bixio on that day: "It is to the foresight and judgment of [a Jesuit priest] that Beauregard and Johnston escaped death or capture at Manassas, for had not they met one of these missionaries during the heat of the conflict, and heeded his modest advice, one or another of these calamities must have inevitably ensued."¹⁷ The war seemed to have had an effect opposite to California's "deadly climate" on Joseph Bixio; it energized him. Mapping out campaigns and mingling with soldiers on the battlefields seemed to be as much in his blood as it was in the blood of his younger brother, Girolamo.



San Francisco, as drawn in 1847, the year its name was changed from Yerba Buena. Market Street would soon be laid out by Jasper O'Farrell at an angle to the original grid shown here, beginning approximately between the inlet and the dark building labeled "9" at the water's edge and extending to Twin Peaks, faintly visible as "33" at the upper left. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

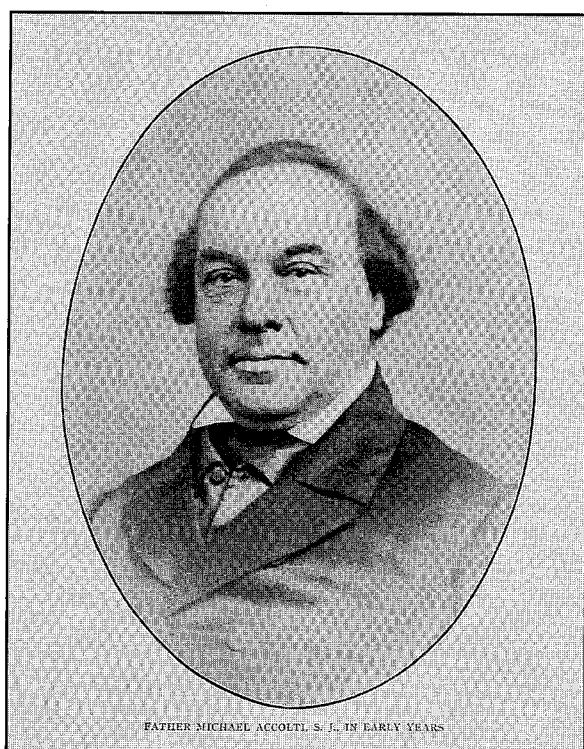
By this date, Girolamo (b. Genoa, September 2, 1821), better known as Nino, was adding more notoriety to the already famous family name. After the death of their mother in 1831, the ten-year-old Nino and the twelve-year-old Pippo had been left to fend for themselves, and what they learned they picked up on the streets. A contemporary had described Joseph during this period of his life as "a mischievous, troublesome hooligan," but he was drawn to studies, and so, despite the fact that he had had but very little religious training in his early background, apparently some Jesuit teachers turned him around. Eventually Joseph had been attracted to the religious life with the same intense single-mindedness that was so characteristic of his brothers. Years later he wrote that he chose the Jesuits because they were "the most military order in the church."¹⁸ Young Nino, however, proved to be incorrigible. He ran off to sea as a cabin boy at the age of fourteen, the very year his father finally managed to have him baptized. Later the young man joined the Sardinian navy and succeeded in educating and disciplining himself by extensive reading and hard work, all the while gladly accepting funds from Jacques-Alexandre. In 1846, Nino quit the navy and traveled to Paris to visit this generous brother, who in turn introduced him to French and Italian republicans intent on overthrowing the monarchies in their respective countries.

Nino, who had been indifferent to politics until this time, left Paris that year a passionate partisan of Mazzini. Back in Genoa he organized student riots, and when the 1848 revolutions broke out and sent Joseph to the United States, Nino distinguished himself as a valiant republican combatant. He was commissioned major and was wounded during the siege of Rome. Disappointed by the republicans' failure to unite Italy, Nino turned his back on politics, and, at the same time as Joseph was in San Francisco founding St. Ignatius College, he sailed for Australia intent on repeating, if not surpassing, Jacques-Alexandre's financial successes. In 1857 he returned to Genoa penniless, but by no means discouraged. He too tested the "climate" and, unlike what Joseph was at the same time discovering about California's weary weather, Nino confessed that the promissory war clouds on the Piedmont horizon animated his spirit. He realized the time was ripe to encourage a war with Austria. To this end he became a supporter of King Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, to whom his older brother Jacques-Alexandre was already close. Nino recruited volunteers for the army, advocated close ties with Napoleon

III, and wrote a column in a newspaper that he was instrumental in founding and naming—significantly—*Nazione*. The Austrian war began on April 26, 1859, and Bixio carved out a niche for himself in the Temple of Fame by fighting side-by-side with Garibaldi at Valtellina and Villafranca; then in the following May he led the second wave of Redshirts to Sicily, where he was greeted on the shore by Garibaldi with words that have become legendary in modern Italian history: "Bixio, here we make Italy or die."¹⁹

Between this date and the beginning of the American Civil War in April 1861, General Nino Bixio became a veritable legend, who, "because he could go from hot-tempered rages to unbridled sentimentality," incarnated better the myth of Garibaldiism than Garibaldi himself.²⁰ Jacques-Alexandre's friend Alexandre Dumas judged Nino to be "an indefatigable conspirator, with a passionate love for his country that bordered on madness."²¹ For this reason it was all the more startling that after 1860 the former revolutionary became a man of law and order; the erstwhile republican became an elected deputy in parliament and a supporter of the king. But Nino had marked well where he placed his sword. In August 1870 he reached the apogee of his career when, as the second in command of the Piedmontese army, he opened a breach in the wall of Rome's Porta Pia, forcing the Pope to take refuge as "the prisoner of the Vatican." Glory, however was fleeting. In July 1871, stripped of his political toga and no longer needed in the army, Nino set out once more for Malaysia and Australia. He hoped to regenerate his financial empire, but, a victim of yellow fever, what he found on December 16, 1873, was death awaiting him on a deserted Sumatran beach. A street in Rome, Via Bixio, which runs parallel to Via Cavour, perpetuates his memory.

Meanwhile, fate had cut out for Joseph a role significantly different from his "railroad life" in Virginia and from his college-founding and circuit-riding life in California. In the spring of 1862, a Confederate chaplain named James B. Sheeran, who was a prisoner of war, noted in his journal that Bixio had sneaked over the lines and had "gained the hearts of officers and soldiers" in the Union army.²² It is fairly certain, too, that Bixio did not sneak back empty-handed. In June Bixio was with the Confederates, at the Battle of Gaines Mill. In his recollections, George Clark, captain of the Eleventh Alabama Volunteers, described how, after being wounded in that battle, "I was sitting on an old log awaiting my turn [for treat-



Fr. Michael Accolti, S.J. In January 1844 he and Fr. John Nobili sailed from Belgium around the Horn to the Pacific Northwest with the famous missionary Peter John De Smet (1801-1873). After Accolti completed his term of office as superior of the Jesuits in California, he became the prefect of studies and professor of ethics at Santa Clara College, 1856-1867. In 1867, he returned to St. Ignatius College in San Francisco, where he served until his death in 1878. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

ment] when a Catholic priest came up and told me he would dress my arm if I would permit him, as he had a great deal of experience in the Italian army in the war between France and Austria. He ripped the sleeve of my coat, and took it off of me and most carefully washed and dressed the wound, telling me that I would not need any attention during the night. To my surprise after thanking him for the kindness, he felt around his pocket and pulled out a bottle of brandy, he told me the doctor would allow me to take a drink after the first twenty-four hours after being wounded." Joseph Bixio was the only Catholic priest in Virginia who matched Clark's description.²³

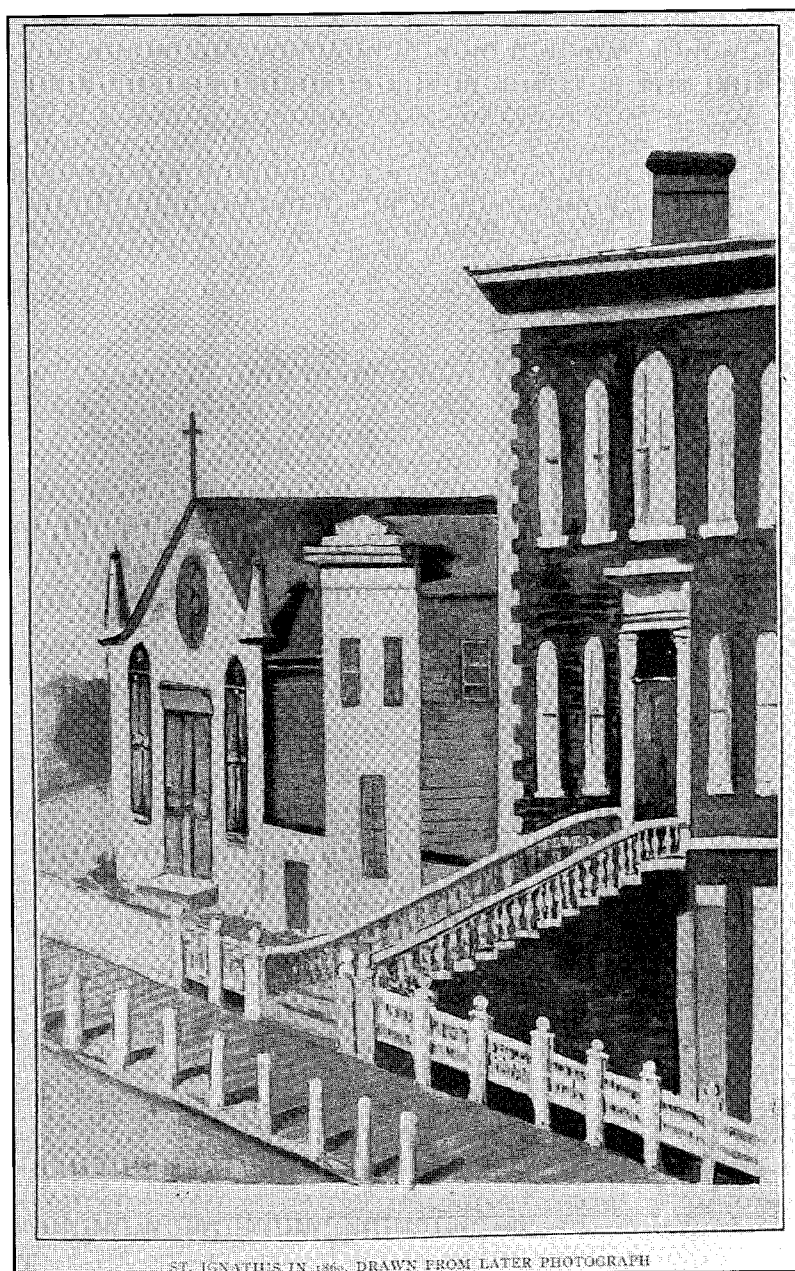
The Irish-born Sheeran soon came across Bixio again. This time he was in the Shenandoah Valley, after the Battle of Winchester, which took place on September 19, 1864, and before the battle of Fisher's

Hill, which was fought on September 22. On this occasion, Sheeran wrote, "he was now playing Yankee chaplain in company with several Yankee officers" and drawing Federal rations at Winchester.²⁴ How was Bixio able to do so? Apparently his early training as a street-smart urchin in Genoa had not been in vain, and his mellifluous Italian accent could butter turnips. On this occasion, he posed as Fr. Leo Rizzo da Saracena, O.F.M., the Italian-born chaplain of the Ninth Connecticut Volunteers. Fr. Leo had been stricken with typhoid fever, hospitalized and near death, when Bixio "slipped into the sick priest's tent and stole his chaplaincy credential and uniform." Sheeran reported that in this disguise Bixio appeared before General Philip Sheridan, conned him with that charm that had beguiled Archbishop Alemany, and got him to have cartloads of Union supplies assigned to his charge. These he brazenly had transported over the lines to the Confederates in Staunton, one of the five parishes where he was pastor. When Sheridan became aware that he had become the butt of Staunton jokes, he realized how this bold-faced spy had "deceived me and acted meanly." Exasperated, he vented his rage on the imprisoned Sheeran for not warning him about Bixio.

In the meantime, another northern general, whose identity is difficult to confirm with certainty, heard a distorted version of the sting and, confident that Rizzo da Saracena was the guilty party, bellowed: "Find him and shoot the dago on sight." Rizzo da Saracena's biographer recalled that, although the Franciscan had served the Union long and faithfully and had even been wounded on one occasion, "he was almost shot for espionage or treason when as an American citizen he was still only a babe in arms." Fortunately, the accused man was able to find witnesses who testified that he had been unconscious and writhing with fever when Sheridan and Bixio were sharing confidences. But while the friar was pleading for his life, the Jesuit was back in Staunton doling out the Yankee haul. Later, Bixio received "a polite message" from an unnamed Union general, probably Sheridan, "to the effect that ever caught, he would be hanged to the first tree."²⁵

At the end of the Civil War, Joseph Bixio appeared at Georgetown College in the District of Columbia "with a trunkful of Confederate script—hundreds of thousands of dollars—expecting to found a college with his treasure."²⁶ How he got the money was never recorded—but he *was* a Bixio. After April 1865, he covered a number of parish chapels around the

St. Ignatius Church and college, ca. 1860. Between 1856 and 1860, the church and college changed considerably in appearance. The original three buildings, church, school, and residence—shown in a preceding photograph—were united into one. Additional classrooms, a chapel, and a study hall were added. The college was incorporated in 1859. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*



Washington, D.C., area and served as chaplain to the young ladies at the Georgetown Visitation convent. As noted earlier, in December that year Joseph's brother Jacques-Alexandre died in Paris. He was given one of the largest funerals the city had known, at which his friend and confidant, Jerome Napoleon, represented the imperial family.

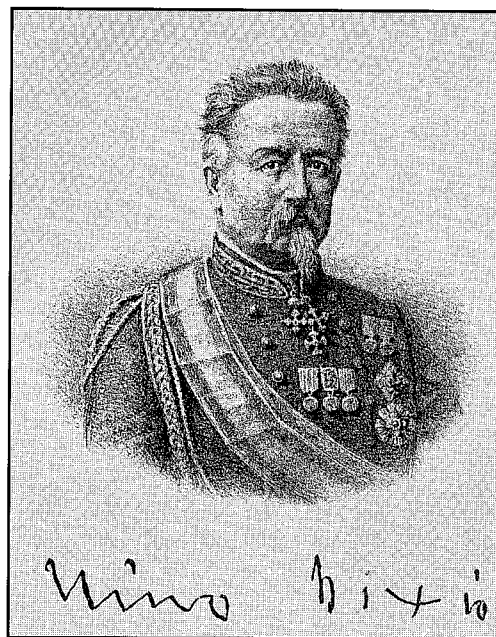
Several months later, in October 1866, some four months after Nino Bixio had salvaged Italy's honor at the battle of Custoza, Joseph's old friend Arch-

bishop Alemany and Michael Accolti went to Baltimore to attend the Second Plenary Council of American bishops. While at the council, they persuaded Joseph to return home to California with them. On November 1, the Spanish-born Dominican archbishop, the former Confederate spy, the coffee-loving superior, and two other Italian Jesuits set sail for San Francisco.²⁷ With the exception of a short stint at Santa Clara, Bixio was attached to St. Ignatius College in San Francisco until the end of 1870. How often he was in

the recreation room with the fathers is a matter of speculation. During the fall 1869 the former provincial, John Baptist Ponte, visited the college in his capacity as visitor to the California Mission. In a letter to the Jesuit general, he reported that Father Bixio was "working very hard" giving missions in the northern counties of the state, where there was plenty of room to roam.²⁸ In July 1871 Bixio was one of the organizers of the march of 20,000 Catholic men who paraded down San Francisco's Market Street in honor of the silver jubilee of Pius IX. He was accompanied by the California Indian Marcelo, "the Indian Chief and the last of his tribe, who for many years was a remarkable figure around Santa Clara."²⁹

By 1878 California had again become too restricted for Father Bixio's restless spirit. He asked for, and received, permission to work in—of all places!—Australia. No mention of climate this time. In August that year he began teaching at St. Patrick's College, Melbourne. Five weeks later, one of his fellow teachers wrote in his diary that Bixio was "dissatisfied with teaching" the few students destined for the priesthood, and that he was complaining that "he didn't have enough to do." He also seemed discouraged: "he considers himself thrown away. 'Twas a strange thing for Superiors in California to send him on here—knowing as they did what sort of man he is."³⁰ Bixio returned to San Francisco in February 1880, to the newly built St. Ignatius College on Hayes and Van Ness. This time he arrived laden with exotic ferns for the college botany laboratory.³¹ By May, he returned to Santa Clara, serving the Catholics there and in San Jose, Los Gatos, Saratoga, Gilroy, and contiguous locations. He was known for "his incredible nobility, coming and going about the town and valley, familiar to all and liked by all." He remained at Santa Clara College until his death, which occurred on March 3, 1889.³²

During the years that they were separated, had there been any correspondence between Pippo and Nino, these two brothers who as youngsters had been so close? Yes, however none of it is extant. In 1869, when Joseph left Santa Clara to return to St. Ignatius College, Nino wrote to his wife telling her that he had just received a letter from one of Jacques-Alexandre's sons, Olivier Bixio (1842–1877), who was traveling in the United States. "Olivier saw Pippo at Santa Clara College near San Francisco, California," Nino informed her, and added that Pippo

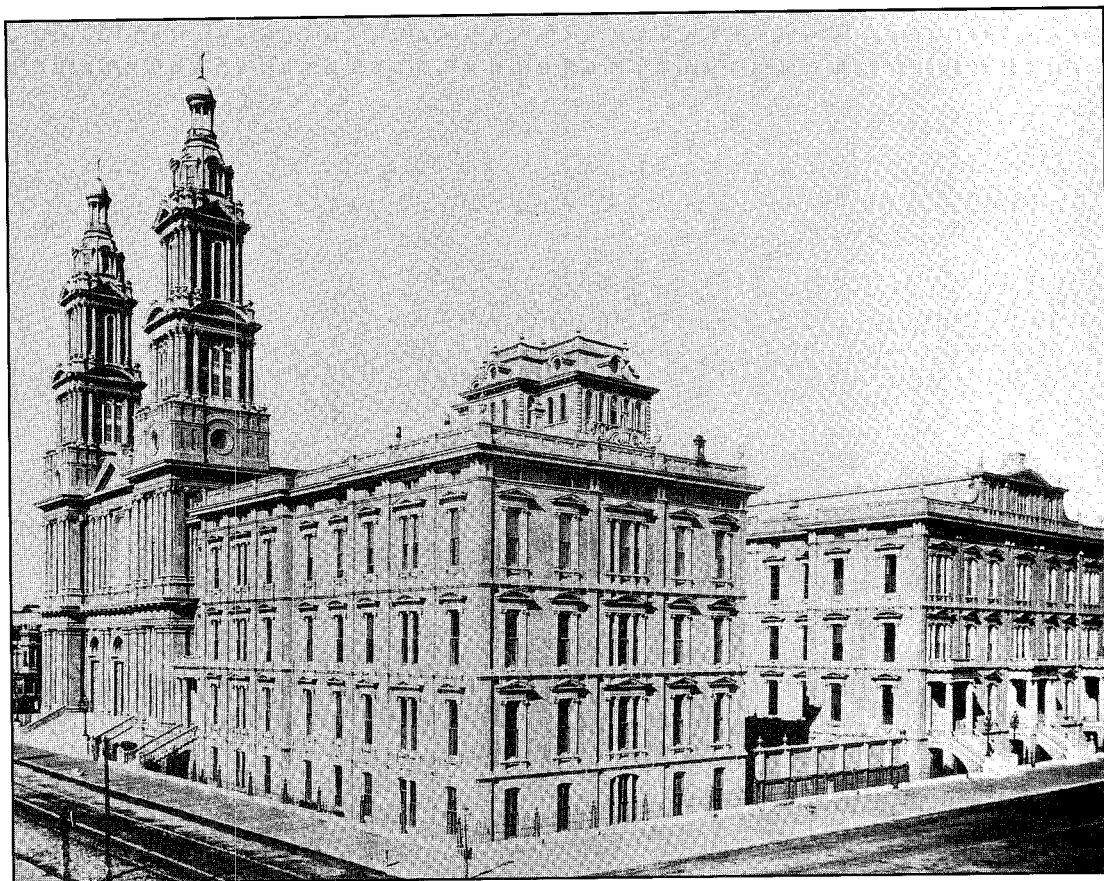


General Girolamo "Nino" Bixio (1821-1873), youngest of the four Bixio brothers, shown here in full military dress. After cutting his military teeth during the French and Italian revolutions of 1848 that sent Joseph Bixio to the United States, Nino rose to distinction recruiting Italian nationals in the first war against Austria in 1859. Several years later, fighting beside the heroic guerrilla leader Menotti Garibaldi (1840-1906), Nino led the Piedmontese army in the wars that would ultimately unite Italy by 1870. After his death, Via Bixio, in Rome, commemorated his heroism and patriotism. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

asked about us with great interest and that our silence—mine and *yours*—has made him heartsick. This time I have definitely made up my mind to write to him. Strange however—although he said that he was heartsick, he later preached a sermon to Oliver, which he repeated to his parishioners in the church, about how he and his fellow religious of the Society of Jesus renounced everything pertaining to *la Familia*, and that they lived only for the Society, the glory of God and I do not know how many other stupidities. Pippo, as Olivier informed me, is the pastor of the church and it seems that Santa Clara is one of the outstanding colleges in the United States.³³

He ended the letter by enclosing Pippo's address, hopeful, no doubt, that his wife would take advantage of it. It is a sad letter and one wonders if the lec-

The third St. Ignatius church and college, shown here in a late nineteenth-century photograph, was built in the city on a site bounded by Grove, Franklin, Hayes, and Van Ness, the present site of Davies Symphony Hall. At the turn of the century, St. Ignatius accommodated twelve hundred students. One city newspaper called it the "million-dollar home of the Society of Jesus in San Francisco." The buildings, however, were destroyed in the earthquake and fire of 1906. In 1930, St. Ignatius College became the University of San Francisco. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*



ture Pippo gave his nephew—and then, for emphasis, repeated to his parishioners—was not in fact a sermon preached to convince himself that his distance from the family had been justified. It is a letter that speaks volumes about the two brothers, who shared so many personality traits as well as early experiences. But Nino nursed an obsessive hatred for the Catholic Church; his wife did not, nor was she devout. Of course, the Jesuit Pippo was unreservedly committed to the Church and to the Pope who had excommunicated Nino and his partisans. Mutual unqualified acceptance was impossible; yet, despite Pippo's disclaimers and Nino's distance, the ties of *la Familia* did seem at times to modify, if not transcend, the irreconcilable.

Fr. Joseph Bixio is one of the two founding fathers of what is today St. Ignatius College Preparatory School, St. Ignatius Church, and the University of San Francisco. He also established a number of Catholic parishes in northern California. He was a devoted priest and a warm, colorful, delightful Cal-

ifornia pioneer. Yet for more than a century Pippo has remained the unknown, stealth member of the flamboyant Bixio brothers. Since there are streets and monuments in Paris and Rome that immortalize *la Familia Bixio*, is it not surprising that no such token of recognition exists in San Francisco—not even on the campus of the University of San Francisco? Perhaps the California climate is to blame. On the other hand, do not spies jealously guard their anonymity?³⁴

CHS

See notes beginning on page 70.

Cornelius Michael Buckley, S.J., is a professor of history at the University of San Francisco, where he teaches in the St. Ignatius Institute Great Books Program. Besides the books cited in this essay, he is the translator of seven books and the author of many articles. His latest book, When Jesuits Were Giants (San Francisco: Ignatius), appeared this March. His doctoral degree is from the Sorbonne (1967).



Carleton E. Watkins, *Montgomery St., from Austin's Building, July 4, 1865, San Francisco* (from a stereograph). Eighteen-sixty-five marked the first year African Americans were permitted to participate in San Francisco's annual Independence Day parade, a victory they heartily celebrated despite the presence of more than a few anti-desegregation protesters. *Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.*

“BENEATH THE SHADOW OF HER FLAG”:

Philip A. Bell's *The Elevator* and the Struggle for Enfranchisement, 1865–1870

by Frank H. Goodyear

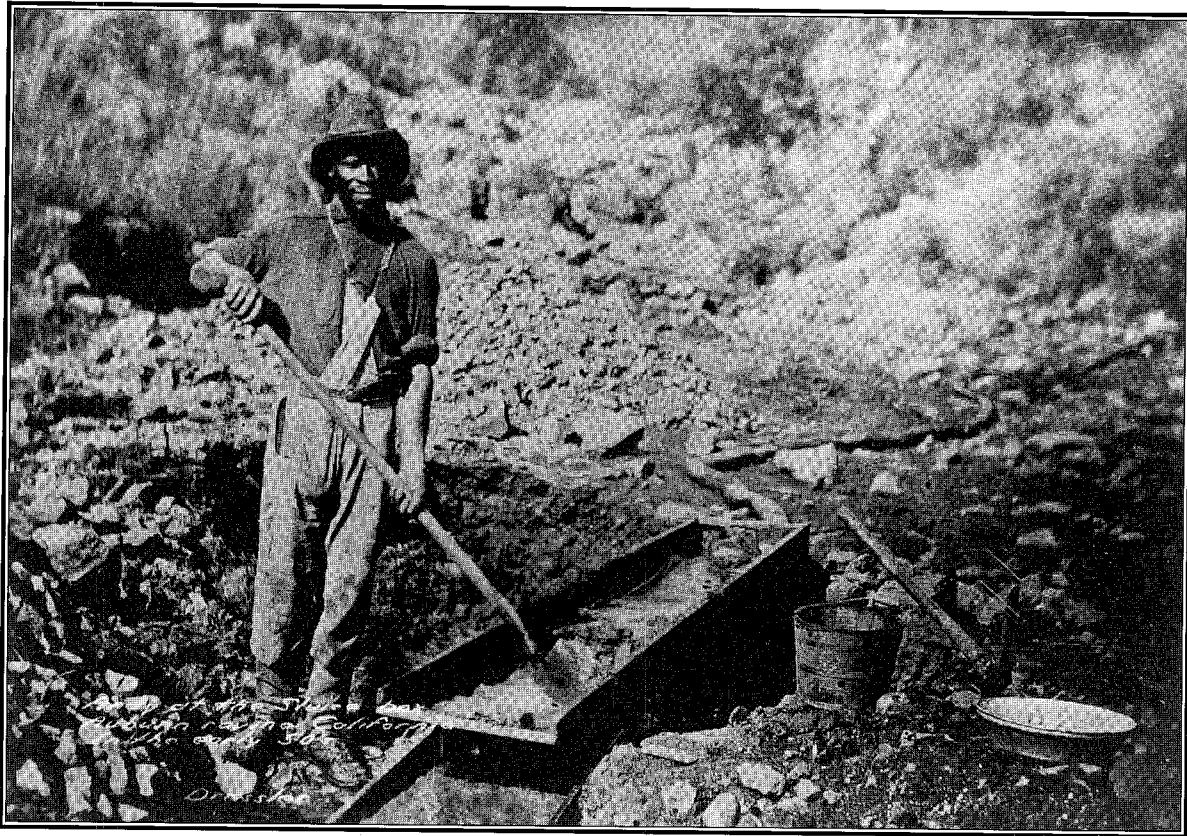
During the nineteenth century, San Francisco was home to the largest black community of any American city west of St. Louis. Although the 1,176 blacks counted in the 1860 census represented at that time less than 2 percent of the city's total population, this group's migration to northern California and their subsequent history in its principal city provide a unique opportunity to study the manner in which a black community participated in the settlement and growth of a major American city.¹ It was in San Francisco also that blacks in the West first gained a public voice in their struggle for basic political and civil rights. Their efforts at reform were displayed in a variety of initiatives. From legal challenges to public demonstrations, this community worked to strike down the legacy of discrimination and racism that characterized life in California during the latter half of the nineteenth century. At the heart of this campaign was a group of newspapers owned and operated by free blacks. As an example of the role that the black press played in California, this essay investigates the efforts of Philip Alexander Bell, the founding editor of *The Elevator*, in shaping the political discourse surrounding the contested issue of enfranchisement in the years immediately following the Civil War. Desirous of realigning San Francisco's cultural and racial boundaries, Bell positioned *The Elevator* as the centerpiece in the campaign to win blacks the vote.²

From the perspective of the East, California during the Gold Rush seemed to promise prosperity and freedom to all. While some blacks headed west in the 1850s out of fear of the newly enacted Fugitive Slave Law, the majority were free blacks driven by the same dream of economic prosperity that gripped thousands of other individuals following the discovery of gold in the Sierra foothills east of Sacramento Valley in January 1848. Indeed, many of the first blacks in California, most of whom were men, hoped to make enough money by mining or providing services to

other pioneers that they might be able to return east and purchase relatives and friends out of slavery. Others wished to save enough so that they could pay for tickets to bring their entire family to California. Abolitionist newspapers in the East encouraged such trips by publishing reports of lucky strikes by black prospectors and articles about California's attractive landscape and climate. For the first time in their history, free blacks seized the chance for a fresh start by voluntarily relocating in the Far West.³

Yet blacks quickly learned that the newness of fledgling communities such as San Francisco and Sacramento and the richness of the gold fields did not mean that they had escaped the age-old prejudices and fears of the racially entrenched dominant culture. Although blacks were not segregated in specific neighborhoods as were the Chinese during this period, they did face restrictions on their civil rights that were often more severe than those that they had confronted in the communities from which they had come. In particular, they encountered discrimination in public accommodations, were denied access to public education, and lacked the right to submit testimony in a court of law. In San Francisco, however, black leaders organized to press for changes to such inequities. The reform of testimony rights, particularly, occupied their attention throughout the 1850s. Unable to defend themselves in court, blacks were intimidated from establishing mining claims and other economic enterprises that might allow them to settle in California. On three different occasions, blacks throughout the state came together to adopt and submit petitions to the state calling for an end to the practice of barring blacks from courts. Each time, though, the state legislature ignored their petition.

Hoping to provide a louder voice for the black community, leaders called for a political body that would strengthen and solidify their presence. Delegates attended the First Colored Convention in Sacramento in November 1855 and immediately recognized the



Miner at Auburn Ravine, 1852. Approximately five thousand African Americans immigrated to California between 1848 and 1860, encouraged by eastern abolitionist newspapers—such as *Frederick Douglass' Paper*—that trumpeted the economic opportunities available in the allegedly egalitarian Gold Rush. Once they arrived, however, black miners found that they faced discrimination, violence, and constant threat of arrest under the California Fugitive Slave Law of 1852. The First State Convention of Colored Citizens of California convened in 1855 to combat unjust laws and to fight for African American suffrage and equal rights. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

need for their own statewide newspaper. With proceeds gathered at the convention, California's first black newspaper, the *Mirror of the Times*, was established in San Francisco the following year. The *Mirror's* editors, Mifflin W. Gibbs and Jonas H. Townsend, continued to press for changes to the Witness and Testimony Law; however, lacking the necessary financial resources and discouraged by the strong resistance that they met in their efforts, Gibbs and Townsend ceased publishing the weekly paper less than two years later.⁴ It would not be until 1863, in the midst of the Civil War, that this law was finally amended.

Although not the top priority of these early reformers, the right to vote emerged as the leading issue among San Francisco's black community in the years directly following the Civil War. The political climate in the months directly before and immediately after

the Union victory set the stage for a national debate on this issue. Yet, whereas blacks were effectively silenced in earlier discussions concerning the political franchise, they now reached out in large numbers to participate through the vehicle of the black press. Black-owned newspapers such as *The New Era* in Washington, D.C., *The Black Republican* in New Orleans, and *The Colored American* in Augusta, Georgia, were all founded in 1865. It was also at this time that Philip Bell organized and began publication of *The Elevator*. Bell's new weekly newspaper first appeared on April 7, 1865, only two days before Confederate General Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. In the five years leading up to passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, *The Elevator* provided an important regional voice in this national campaign to win blacks the vote.

The establishment of *The Elevator* was by no means Bell's first involvement in such political activities. Long before the debate over enfranchisement began, he had been working for the advancement of his race as a journalist and an activist. Born in New York City in 1808 and educated there at the African Free School, Philip Bell got his first job in journalism in 1831, when he became the New York City agent for *The Liberator*, William Lloyd Garrison's Boston-based abolitionist newspaper. Along with Frederick Douglass, Henry Garnet, and Martin Delany, Bell emerged as one of the most vigorous black abolitionists of the antebellum period. Besides his involvement in educational programs for young blacks and on committees for the assistance and protection of fugitive slaves, Bell also helped found and edit the *Weekly Advocate* in January 1837. (Two months later, Samuel E. Cornish renamed it *The Colored American* when he became the newspaper's publisher.) Until its demise in 1842, this journal represented the most important forum for black opinion of its time. Even after the newspaper ceased publication, Bell remained committed to the abolitionist cause, attending many of the national Negro conventions and lecturing for black suffrage and against black colonization proposals. To support himself during this period of activism, he managed an employment agency for blacks in New York City.⁵

Although he had by the late 1850s attained a prominent place in the world of race politics in the East, Bell decided, for reasons that are not altogether clear, to leave New York for San Francisco.⁶ Settling there in 1860, he briefly ran a real estate agency before turning to journalism. In April 1862, Peter Anderson, a long-time leading political voice in the city's black community, recruited him to edit a newspaper that was intended to fill the void left by the long-since-defunct *Mirror of the Times*. This newspaper, the *Pacific Appeal*, described itself as the "Official Organ of the Colored Citizens of the Pacific States and Territories." Only four months after the paper was launched, though, Bell resigned, unable to resolve basic philosophical and personal differences between himself and Anderson.⁷ Despite Bell's resignation, the *Pacific Appeal* continued to be published until Anderson's death in 1879.

Having severed his ties to the *Pacific Appeal*, Bell began making plans to establish his own newspaper. Among his strongest supporters was a group of influential black Californians who represented the political power of the state's Colored Convention, which had organized in 1855. Comprised largely of the educated elite from across the state, the Executive Committee was responsible for establishing and

implementing programs and policies that would benefit California's black population. Once a supporter of Anderson's *Pacific Appeal*, the Executive Committee now lined up firmly behind Bell's new weekly journal. Indeed, every member of *The Elevator*'s five-member Publishing Committee also served on the Executive Committee. A letter, simply signed "Veritas," in the June 16, 1865, issue of *The Elevator*, suggests this shift in allegiance. "The people are united in sustaining a good paper . . . We have too many old fogies [Peter Anderson], who have been leading us some twelve or fifteen years, who don't seem to comprehend the new condition of things, and we are determined to get rid of them."⁸ With the committee's support, *The Elevator* quickly supplanted the *Pacific Appeal* as the most widely read black newspaper in California.

Although *The Elevator* addressed many issues that affected the black community in San Francisco, none was more important than the republican tenet of "Equality before the Law." This motto, which was printed on the masthead, represented the underlying philosophy of the newspaper. "Our Paper and its Purpose," a poem in the newspaper's first issue by the black poet James Madison Bell—he was not related to the editor—celebrates this idea in flowery verse. In the poem's final stanza, Bell wrote,

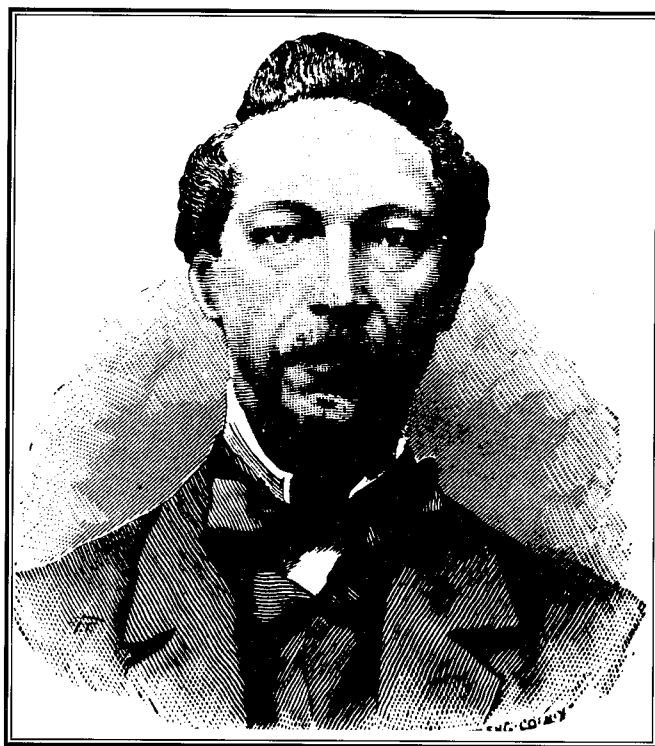
Then let us raise the sign of progress,
And bid the vaunting scoffer see
With all our lip-friends of profession
That *manhood's right is liberty*.
That manhood has, when left untrammelled,
Aspired to all that's good and great,
And many a slave by chains empaneled
Would fill, if free, a chair of State.⁹

Having dedicated itself to the principle that "manhood's right is liberty," *The Elevator* aggressively pursued a whole platform of specific reforms. During its first years, though, none was as important as the political franchise.

While earlier black leaders such as Townsend and Gibbs, the co-editors of the *Mirror*, had also championed this issue, Philip Bell reconceptualized the manner in which the debate would be carried forward. Before *The Elevator*'s appearance, the rhetoric of San Francisco's black reformers can be characterized as pedantic. Writers had put forth the reasons they believed they deserved the vote in a sterile, straightforward fashion. Little emotion charged their language. A sense of history did not inform their arguments. The underlying principle, they seemed to believe, was enough. Furthermore, these previous

leaders were reluctant to organize public demonstrations to show off the community's solidarity in regards to this issue. Influenced by his long abolitionist career, however, Bell revitalized the debate by infusing his weekly newspaper with a more assertive style. The following excerpt from the first issue is indicative of this new vibrancy and forcefulness: "Our name is indicative of our object, we wish to elevate the oppressed of all nations and of every clime to the position of manhood and freedom. We wish to place all mankind on a level; not by lowering them to our standard, but by elevating them in virtue, intelligence, and self-reliance on a level with the most favored of the human race. We are levellers [*sic*], not to level down, but to level up."¹⁰ Not only did he express his ideas in a more robust manner, but he was also not hesitant to criticize other mainstream papers for their racist opinions. Entering the political fray, Bell reviewed six of the leading white newspapers in *The Elevator's* first issue. Some, like *The American Flag*, he praised; others, like the *Democratic Press*, he chastised for being "devoid of honor and principles, brutal in its instincts, and traitorous in its professions."¹¹ In this way, Bell made the white community sit up and take notice of his newspaper's presence.

While engaging others was a common practice in *The Elevator*, Bell was cognizant enough to realize that pointed attacks on white society would not resolve the problems of his constituency. Such an approach invited potentially dangerous verbal and physical reprisals from segments of the dominant culture. Furthermore, it reinforced the divisions within the larger community that Bell and others were trying to overcome. As a result, Bell adopted a rhetorical strategy that emphasized the basic political allegiance that blacks and whites shared. He hoped to advance the cause of equal suffrage by demonstrating the overwhelming patriotism of the black population. Conscious of the fact that San Francisco at this time was a city in which a majority of its inhabitants were either immigrants or first-generation citizens, Bell stressed the importance of understanding and abiding by American laws, customs, and institutions. Insisting "that all foreign nationalities among American citizens should be abolished," Bell proclaimed in *The Elevator's* prospectus that those who settled in California "must become Americanized In accepting the precious boon of American citizenship, they should adopt our customs, habits, and language as they adopt our laws These foreign nationalities are the bane of our country, and contrary to the genius and principles of our Republican institutions Until we become one in sentiment, one in action, truly Americanized, we will be open to the assault of foes



Philip Alexander Bell (1808-1889), founder and editor of San Francisco's *The Elevator*.

without, and the designs of traitors within."¹² A long-time opponent of black colonization efforts, Bell believed that age-old conflicts between ethnic and racial groups in America could only be solved by embracing the "genius and principles of our Republican institutions." This patriotic belief guided Bell's efforts to win blacks the vote. As a result, *The Elevator* became more than simply a public space in which to defend San Francisco's black population against the attacks of their oppressors; instead, Bell used it to reshape the political debate concerning the black community's place in American society.

As Bell attempted to use his newspaper to bridge the divisions that separated the different races, the majority of those within the mainstream press wanted to keep the races apart. Most California newspapers at this time were against the idea of equal suffrage. The most-often-repeated reason the vote should *not* be given to blacks stemmed from the belief that blacks were by nature intellectually and culturally inferior to whites. To the question, "Is a negro equal to a white man?", an editorial in the July 18, 1865, issue of the *San Francisco Daily Examiner* used the scientific work of "learned writers on ethnology" to suggest the "superiority of the white races. In fact, all scientific writers concur that the black, inter-tropical nations, of

which the negro is the type, are decidedly the lowest in the intellectual scale. Their characteristics, in fact their normal condition, are indolence, the grossest barbarism, and the most cruel superstitions. In their native land, the idea of social community has made no progress among them. All they can lay claim to of civilization in any period of the world's history has been thrust upon them by the strong hand of slavery."¹³ Given that "ninety-nine out of each one hundred of the negroes of the country are steeped in ignorance," claimed an editorial in the April 11, 1865, issue of the *Sacramento Bee*, this lack of intelligence "would make them fools of the arrant [*sic*] and most unscrupulous demagogues." This fear that "unscrupulous demagogues" might take advantage of these "fools" fueled the belief that giving blacks the vote would lead directly to "the inevitable war between the races."¹⁴

Those writers in the mainstream press who opposed enfranchisement for blacks employed this and similar ideas to play on white fears that "liberated" blacks might physically rise up against white society. Because of their recent experience fighting the Confederacy during the Civil War, many whites believed blacks were prepared to do just that. An editorial in the June 14, 1865, issue of the *San Francisco Daily Examiner* articulated the danger that many believed would accompany such legislation.

If we should consent to give the ballot to the dusky hand that brandishes a dripping blade, we should feel bound, also, to consent to place it in the one yet unstained with gore. The smell of human sacrifice is not pleasant in our nostrils. We turn with loathing from fratricidal slaughter. The right to participate in republican government does not spring from a love for carnage and plunder, else, why reprobate the courage of the highwayman, or the skill of the assassin. Until we see some other claim asserted in behalf of the negro and his political equality than that of a military education, we shall resist all efforts tending to overthrow the liberties of the Republic through a mistaken sense of gratitude to him.¹⁵

In this political climate, it is not surprising that *The Elevator* never used the argument that blacks should be given the vote because they served admirably in the Union Army. Although white reformers around the country regularly referenced this contribution to support the case for enfranchisement, Bell and others within the black community seem to have wanted to avoid invoking the image of the armed black man.

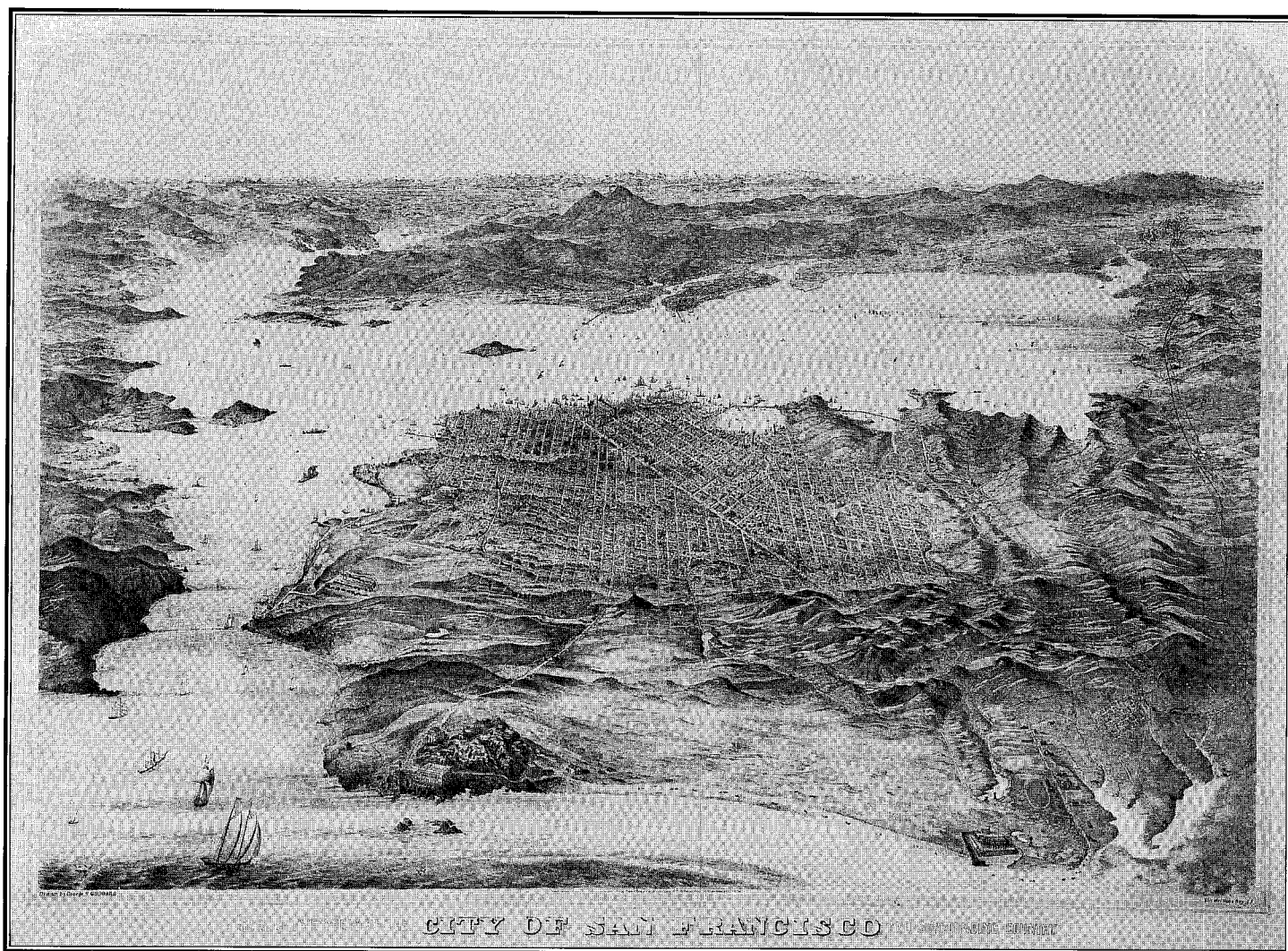
Instead, Bell's first concern as activist and editor was how he could best assuage this climate of dread and uncertainty that pervaded the political discourse. His decision to wrap the black cause in the American

flag demonstrates his adroit use of patriotic rhetoric to allay such fears and simultaneously promote his cause. In *The Elevator*, Bell continually wrote about the bright future that lay ahead for America when it embraced these reforms. His editorial entitled "The Duties of the Nation," which appeared on May 19, 1865, both celebrated the nation's reunion and suggested the unfinished work still left to be done.

We have removed the emblems of mourning which for the wonted period gave out evidence of our woe; we have flung back the sack-cloth from our brow and cleansed our head of the ashes we had strewn upon it; our glorious old Flag can again mount to its utmost peak, and flout to the sky its bright stars, not one erased, and the few bedimmed ones fast renewing their former effulgence. Hail! brethren, and rejoice, ye wise men of the nation, sages and patriots, sires and sons, old men and maidens, wives and mothers, all rejoice, the prodigals have returned, the Pleiads have been restored. With the reconstruction of our Union other duties will devolve upon our nation . . . American must be free indeed. She has no slave within her wide domain; she must have no disfranchised citizen beneath the shadow of her flag.¹⁶

In Bell's estimation, anything less than universal suffrage would compromise the nation's underlying principles. For that reason alone, he argued that America's future security and welfare depended on such legislation.

Invoking the foundations of American history was another of Bell's means toward his end. Yet, while it might have been easy to use examples that portrayed America at its worst, Bell instead published articles that pointed with pride to some of the nation's finest moments as a means of drumming up support for black enfranchisement. In particular, writers in *The Elevator* drew lessons from the injustices that provoked the American Revolution. For example, John J. Moore, a regular contributor to *The Elevator* and the founder of San Francisco's first black church, described the political system that left so many disenfranchised as a "relic of English toryism." Moore then equated the advocates of black enfranchisement with the patriots of the American Revolution. "Because without this right of suffrage the colored man is subject to taxation without political representation—which principle justified the American colonies, in 1776, to appeal to arms against the British or home Government as oppressive. Surely, taxation without representation is as unjust now as ninety years ago. A Christian government must admit it as an equal outrage upon the negro as the Saxon."¹⁷ By couching his argument in patriotic



George H. Goddard, *Bird's Eye View of the City of San Francisco and Surrounding Country*, 1868. In 1860, about 2 percent of San Francisco's 56,000 inhabitants were African Americans. Rather than being segregated into separate neighborhoods, as were Chinese immigrants in Chinatown, blacks lived dispersed throughout San Francisco's many districts. This colored lithograph by Britton & Rey was published by Snow and Roos, San Francisco. *California Historical Society*.

rhetoric, Moore suggested the allegiance that blacks felt toward America and its founding principles. Such a strategy was all part of *The Elevator's* larger effort to disarm the militancy of the movement's enemies.

The prevailing argument that writers in *The Elevator* used to persuade readers that blacks should be given the vote was that no citizens were more loyal and honest than those from within the black community. In his editorials, Bell repeatedly returned to this theme. Faithful to the Republican Party, respectful of American institutions and customs, and dedicated to the progress of their community, blacks represented, in Bell's opinion, America's most ideal cit-

izens. An editorial entitled "Citizenship and Suffrage" illustrated this argument. "What had the negro population done, either as a class or individually, that the entire race should be disenfranchised? We answer confidently, nothing. We were law loving and law abiding, honest, industrious, and possessing higher moral character and greater forbearance than ever shown by any oppressed people. We have fewer criminals, as the statistics of the country prove, than any class, except the Quakers; fewer paupers than any race except the Jews; and never was there found a traitor to the Government wearing a black skin, or claiming an affinity with the African race."¹⁸ Bell often said that loyal

black men would help counterbalance disloyal whites in this period of Reconstruction. Demonstrating the black population's allegiance to America, Bell hoped to show whites that they had nothing to fear in granting blacks the vote.

Bell promoted this view not only in the pages of *The Elevator*, but also at select times of the year in public demonstrations. Previous leaders had not always been so willing to act in this manner. While the first of August and the first of January also held great significance to blacks in San Francisco, no single day was celebrated more publicly than the Fourth of July.¹⁹ In the years following 1865, the date that San Francisco's white civic leaders first granted blacks permission to assemble and march in the annual Independence Day parade, blacks embraced the opportunity to participate in this uniquely American ritual. The 1865 celebration, in particular, was marked by much rejoicing among blacks. In preparation, community leaders established a "Committee of Arrangements for Celebrating the Fourth of July," the proceedings of which Bell published in *The Elevator*. Organizers scheduled a "Grand Dinner" and a "Celebration Ball" to follow the daytime parade. Bell himself was selected as a member of the "Honorary Committee" that sponsored the dance. In his weekly editorial prior to the holiday, he used the occasion to reflect upon "The Day We Celebrate" and to remind others that the eyes of all San Franciscans would be upon them.

We have long desired to celebrate our National Anniversary as an American citizen. While others were rejoicing at the return of the day on which a Nation sprang into existence full of life and vigor, when she flung aside the swaddling bands of Colonial dependence and took "her stand among the nations of the earth," we felt saddened that we could not rejoice with them; but we mourned over the degradation of our country and the thralldom [sic] of our race. Now, however, we can rejoice Our country is truly FREE, and we, her sable sons, rejoice . . . that our Government is relieved from the incubus of slavery, and can join in the ever onward march of progress which free institutions hasten and accelerate Let every colored man join in the procession on Tuesday next. Let us show, by our deportment and behavior, that we appreciate the great boon which has been offered us, and are fully capable of enjoying EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW.²⁰

The 1865 Fourth of July parade represented an important moment for blacks to demonstrate both their solidarity and their patriotic allegiance. For the first time, whites were to witness the presence of this long-segregated community, joined together and marching as one through the city streets. Bell and other leaders rec-

ognized that a large turnout and an untarnished celebration would go a long way in their campaign for the political franchise.

Given the strained political atmosphere, however, much controversy marked the holiday. Several white newspapers objected to the Republican civic leaders' decision to allow blacks to join in the parade. Although some two hundred white citizens met on July 2 to protest the event's desegregation, the civic leaders decided not to revoke the invitation.²¹ Upset with this decision, many were present on the Fourth to voice their anger directly at those whose presence they objected to. At several points along the parade route, protestors showered the black contingent with racial insults and taunts. Reports suggest that no fights broke out; however, tempers remained high in the weeks after the festivities. In a vehement editorial entitled "The Teachings of Yesterday" in the *San Francisco Daily Examiner*, B. F. Washington, the newspaper's racist editor, described the Republican Party as a "wild, reckless set of fanatics" and chastised them for their attempt "to desecrate the anniversary of our national birth by perverting it to party purposes." After complaining about the low turnout among the city's white citizens, Washington concluded, "To put down this dastardly attempt to mongrelize the nation, and make our Government what our fathers designed it should be, a government for white people, is a work in which the patriotism of all parties may combine in a united effort."²² Although a few local white journalists, such as Mark Twain, criticized the severe treatment that black marchers received, most editors within the mainstream press remained steadfastly opposed to equal rights for blacks and an integrated society.²³

In an editorial that appeared on July 7, Bell tried to downplay the negative aspects of the day's festivities. Despite noting an occasional "insulting word" from the predominantly white crowd, he described the day as an unqualified success. "Our march was an ovation worthy the triumphal return of heroes from victorious fields of battle We were greeted with signs of approval, while bouquets were showered from window and balcony, until the air was almost redolent with the aroma of flowers."²⁴ Whatever bad feelings the white community harbored about the day did not noticeably affect this jubilant crowd, Bell reported, and nowhere in *The Elevator* in the weeks that followed the celebration did he directly mention the racial slurs that bigoted onlookers hurled at the black procession. It is not surprising that Bell was reluctant to criticize these individuals. By their upstanding behavior in the face of racist protestors, blacks had made their statement. As the events of the day indicated, it was not the blacks who should be feared, but rather those

whites who would provoke such a conflict who were the terrorizing element.

Despite these and other tangible efforts toward full participation in American democracy, activists made little progress toward achieving for blacks anything of lasting political importance in that year. In October 1865, the Executive Committee organized the first Colored Convention in eight years. Upbeat because of the advances of that year, California's black population believed that the time was right to submit an official petition to the state legislature seeking enfranchisement. Much excitement surrounded the week-long conference in Sacramento. *The Elevator* printed the entire proceedings, including the keynote address by William H. Hall, an active community leader whose arrival in San Francisco in 1849 had made him one of the first blacks to settle in the area. Nevertheless, despite the enthusiasm and hopefulness that emanated from the convention, the larger political atmosphere outside the convention was not supportive of their cause. Not only was the California legislature unwilling even to debate the issues submitted by their petition, the prospects of national support for enfranchisement were fast disappearing as well. In the East, black reformers soon learned that President Andrew Johnson was not the man that Lincoln had been. Fearful that any "further agitation of the negro franchise question . . . would engender enmity and strife between the races and lead to a war between them, which would result in great injury to both, and certain extermination of the negro population," Johnson refused to embrace any substantive political reform concerning race during his presidential term.²⁵ His lack of leadership in this regard sent a clear message to everyone involved in the national debate. Blacks were not going to win the vote as easily as they had hoped.

Discouraged, Bell continued to fight for the cause, but his editorials lacked the optimism and patriotic rhetoric of his earlier efforts. The first signs of this disillusionment are revealed in the following excerpt from an editorial, simply entitled "Reconstruction," in the September 15, 1865, issue of *The Elevator*:

We now come to the most important point, and to which Government has paid no attention whatever—the suffrage question. In his various proclamations the President has declared what classes are not entitled to citizenship, but he has apparently lost sight of the negro population, which will be a disturbing element as long as they are an oppressed race. They form a large proportion of the Southern States, and will become as necessary to the Government in the future as they have been in the past, if they are treated like men and have the rights as

citizens. But in their present anomalous position as freedmen, not freemen, they can render the Government no aid politically, and in case of another outbreak they would not render military service to a government which has once broken faith with them.²⁶

Given Johnson's disinterest in the future of blacks in America, Bell was clearly disappointed by the direction that Reconstruction was headed. In later editorials, he was less subtle about his disdain for Johnson. In the following excerpt from an editorial three months later, Bell wrote angrily, "Why then, we ask again, are we disenfranchised? To satisfy the demands of the slave power, which went on demanding, even like the daughters of the horse-leech, crying 'give, give'; and the too willing Democracy of the North ever yielding to their demands."²⁷ With little to show for their efforts, the optimism that had fueled the newspaper staff in its first months soon dissipated.

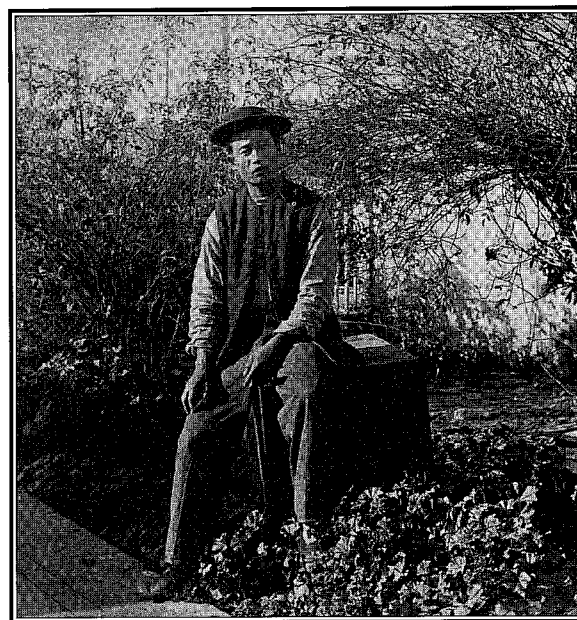
Frustrated by the marginalized status still accorded blacks, Bell used *The Elevator* increasingly to disparage not simply President Johnson's administration, but also the one ethnic group in San Francisco that he believed was truly inferior. Although Bell initially was willing to embrace "John Chinaman, if he will learn our language, wear clothes like 'any other man,' cut off his queue, and renounce his chopsticks," he soon soured on the Chinese presence in California.²⁸ According to census numbers, there were twice as many Chinese as blacks in San Francisco in 1860. However, while the black population experienced little growth in the next ten years, the number of Chinese grew by 343 percent. By 1870, the Chinese population outnumbered the black community in San Francisco by more than nine to one.²⁹ The increasing number of Chinese meant fewer job opportunities for blacks. Although blacks might easily have been recruited to build the transcontinental railroad, construction companies looked overseas for their main sources of cheap labor. Railroad executives joined with shipping companies to establish liberal credit-ticket systems that allowed poor Chinese laborers to come to America. Having already tried in the 1850s to keep blacks from emigrating to California, legislative officials and businessmen were not enthusiastic about introducing a new wave of black settlers to their state. Not only could construction companies more easily control Chinese workers because of their alien status, but many whites mistakenly believed that they were only temporary workers who would return to China after the completion of the project. These factors made recruiting Chinese workers a more attractive option than importing freed blacks from other

regions of the United States. Not until the mid-1880s, at the height of anti-Chinese racism in the West, would substantial numbers of blacks be encouraged to enter the mainstream work force.³⁰

Given the chronic labor shortage that California faced in the nineteenth century, blacks did not have trouble finding work. However, the low quality of the jobs that were available to them concerned Bell and other community leaders. In 1860, more than 80 percent of the black population in San Francisco held unskilled, service-oriented positions. Throughout this period, Bell extolled the virtues of learning new trades as an important precondition for social mobility and economic progress. The fact that railroad executives were not offering blacks the opportunity to enter their industry troubled Bell. The decision to import "coolies," a term that Bell used liberally to describe the Chinese in California, further upset him and other black leaders.³¹ Repeatedly in his editorials Bell urged the railroad companies to bring freed slaves to California to work on the rail lines. "We hope contractors and managers of that work will see the importance of employing the freedmen on that road in preference to Chinamen. It is said the reason why the latter are employed is in consequence of the scarcity of white laborers. If that is the case, it is a good reason for employing colored men; they can perform double the work of Chinamen, and are accustomed to that kind of labor The American people owe the negro labor—they have given them freedom, he now requires labor and protection."³²

In addition to suggesting that they could physically outperform Chinese laborers, Bell also argued that freed slaves would not be a corrupting influence on society as the "heathen Chinese" would most certainly be. Desirous of building a larger black constituency in California, Bell was not beyond using the same tactics against the Chinese that were being employed by others against his own race. As the following editorial related, the Chinese were viewed as representing everything "native-born Americans" disdained.

Every month, or oftener, we see an item in the daily papers, "Arrived yesterday from Hong Kong, a ship with 500 Chinese." Is that the kind of immigration the honorable gentleman from Tehama and Colusa would encourage? Have we not enough of them already, or must every hamlet and village be invested with hordes of the lower caste of China, and the moral sentiment of the country be polluted with their dens and brothels? We want laborers, and laborers we must have. There are not sufficient white laborers in the country to supply the demand, and we must either have the Chinese, with their filthy habits, idolatrous worship and courtesan companions, or the negroes, with their



Carleton E. Watkins, *Chinese Man*, ca. 1869 (from a stereograph). Chinese immigration to California increased to about 16,000 annually after U.S. Ambassador Anson C. Burlingame negotiated a new treaty with China in 1868. Already economically disadvantaged and discriminated against, some California African Americans turned their anger against the swelling Chinese labor force. Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

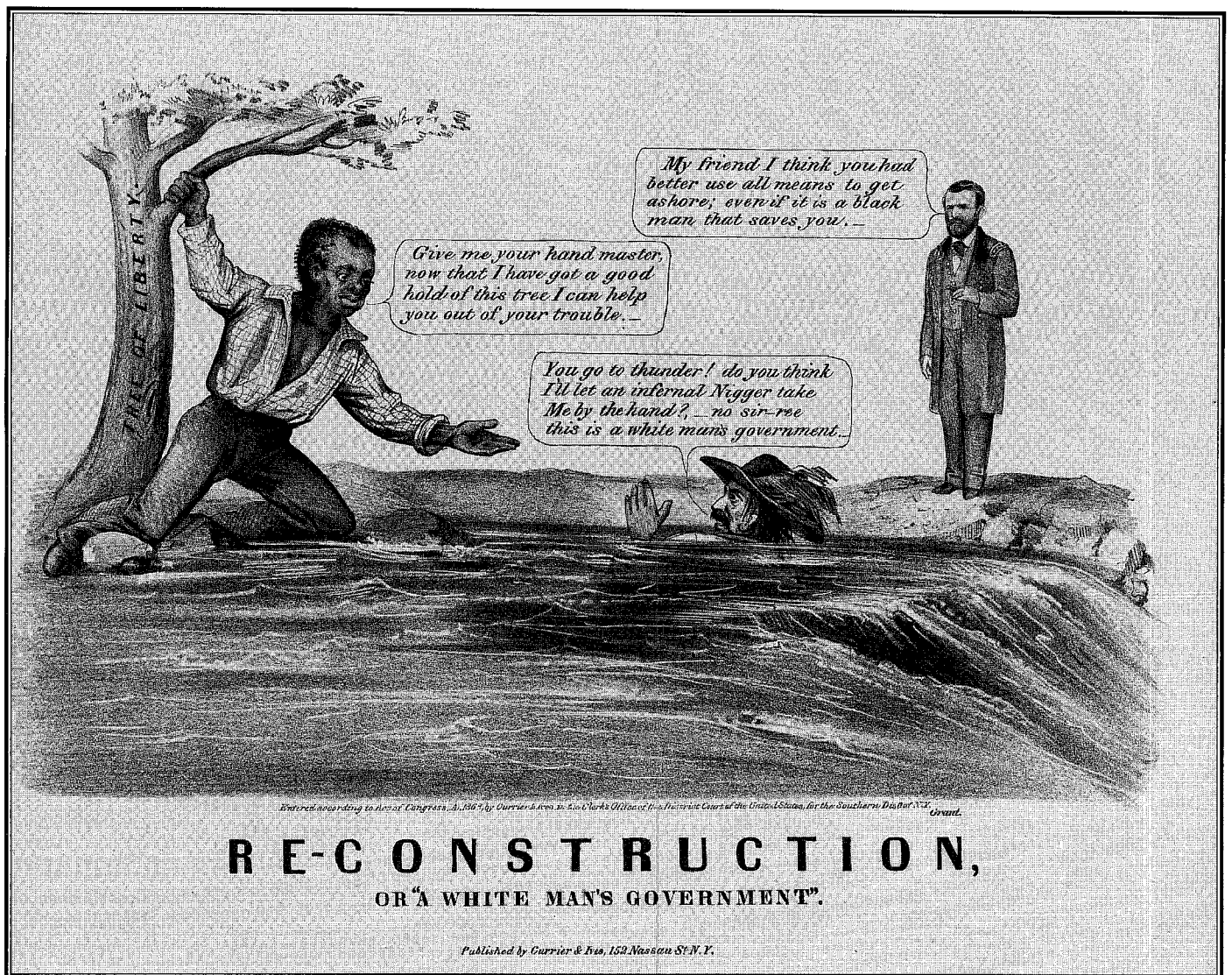
American ideas, Christian religion, and family connections.³³

So frequently did *The Elevator* disparage the Chinese in this manner that San Francisco's leading daily newspaper, the *Alta California*, published the following response to *The Elevator's* opinions: "BLACK VS. YELLOW—THE ELEVATOR, an organ of the colored men, demands the prohibition of Chinese immigration. As there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, so the slave need not travel far to become a tyrant." Bell countered this brief statement by declaring, "We are in favor of foreign immigration when foreigners come here to live, and become Americanized, when they spend their money here, and benefit the country."³⁴ Although frustrated in his efforts to win both the vote and jobs for blacks, he continued to promote what he believed were the distinctively "American" qualities of San Francisco's black community.

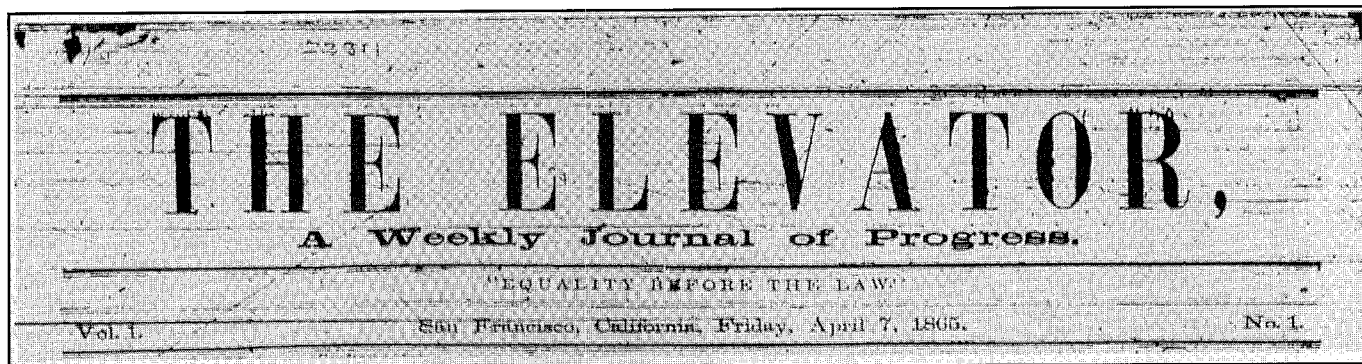
During the latter half of the 1860s, blacks in California, as elsewhere, fought an uphill battle against a dominant culture that had little desire to promote their interests. After the state failed to adopt the petition presented by members of the Colored Convention in the

fall of 1865, the campaign for the political franchise suddenly vanished from *The Elevator's* editorial columns. Discouraged, Bell and other black activists temporarily abandoned their fight for the black vote. Not until federal legislation was proposed four years later, in the spring of 1869, to establish a constitutional amendment granting all citizens the right to vote did Bell renew a sustained effort in the struggle for black enfranchisement. Nevertheless, in the interim years, Bell used his newspaper to comment regularly on

political elections. This was especially the case during the state-wide elections in the fall of 1867. At this time, Bell published a list of candidates from the "Union State Ticket," which the newspaper endorsed, and wrote at length about various issues that were at stake in the election. In such editorials as "Why We Support the Union Party" and "Democratic Logic," Bell celebrated the political platform of the Union Party and railed against the abusive policies of the Democrats.³⁵ Unable to participate officially in the elections,



Reconstruction, or "A White Man's Government," 1868, a scathing political cartoon that mocked the folly of racist white Southerners who refused to welcome the free slaves as equals (from a lithograph by Currier & Ives). General Ulysses S. Grant, depicted positively by the cartoonist as a conciliatory figure, garnered Philip A. Bell's endorsement for president as early as 1867, almost a year before the election. Though encouraged by Grant's dedication to Republican Reconstruction policies, Bell had his reservations about Grant's lack of political experience: "While we doubt not the sincere devotion of General Grant to the principles of the Republican Party," wrote Bell in November 1867, "we do not admire the practice of taking up a man whose only recommendations on the score of capability is military renown." *Courtesy American Antiquarian Society.*



Masthead of the first issue of *The Elevator*, April 7, 1865,
championing "equality before the law."
Courtesy of the author.

he still hoped not only to impact their outcome, but also to engage the black community in the political process. It was important to Bell that blacks educate themselves politically. Throughout these years, *The Elevator*, like many black newspapers across the country, provided its constituency with a forum to learn about both the process and the larger issues that were being decided.

Although the Democrat-controlled state legislature effectively brought a halt to any discussion of black enfranchisement in California, reformers in the East were renewing efforts in their campaign for the vote. In the presidential election in the fall of 1868, Ulysses S. Grant thoroughly defeated his Democratic challenger, Horatio Seymour, and replaced an embattled Andrew Johnson in the White House. The former military commander of the Union Army, Grant identified himself with Republican Reconstruction policies. Less than three months after Grant was elected, Congress approved the Fifteenth Amendment, prohibiting the federal and state governments from depriving any citizen the right to vote on racial grounds. As Congress sent the proposed amendment to the states for ratification, *The Elevator* closely followed the process in each state.

To support the amendment's passage in California, Bell called for the black community to organize a new Executive Committee. Discouraged by its lack of progress and the departure of several important black leaders, the old Executive Committee had stopped meeting in 1866. In part because of its lobbying powers, Bell supported the resurrection of this old policy-making group in several editorials in the spring of 1869.

We require a settled and permanent organization; not

to form any distinct or separate party, but to prepare ourselves to act unitedly. We have great work before us in the ensuing legislative canvass. We should present our condition and advocate our cause before the people through the medium of the Press, and by oral argument. We need lecturers in the field to canvass the whole State. We should employ and pay able and competent men who are well acquainted with the subjects which will be discussed . . . We require a man of the eloquence, intelligence, reputation, and influence of Frederick Douglass. If he could be induced to come here this year, and lecture, he would convert thousands, and revolutionize the State.³⁶

Although the amendment's ratification required only two-thirds of the states' approval, Bell felt strongly that California must cast its vote in favor of the amendment. Despite a shortage of funding, the new Executive Committee was in place by May.³⁷ At the committee's first meeting, the members elected Bell their president.

To win support for the amendment, Bell employed the same strategies he had used four years earlier. With renewed enthusiasm, he wrote editorials and organized demonstrations that highlighted the patriotism and loyalty of the black community. Almost overnight, the issue of black enfranchisement became the single topic that *The Elevator* discussed. All the arguments that Bell had made in 1865 reemerged in his editorials. In addition, the Executive Committee worked to include the black community in several citywide events. A large group of black soldiers and citizens, led by the Brannan Guards and the Lincoln Zouaves, two black paramilitary organizations, joined the city's grand procession celebrating the completion of the transcontinental railroad in May 1869.³⁸ Two months later, the largest contingent of black citizens since the 1865 celebration marched in the city's Fourth of July parade. By participating in such events, San Francisco's black community further expressed its desire to be included in all facets of American life.

PROGRESS OF LIBERTY !

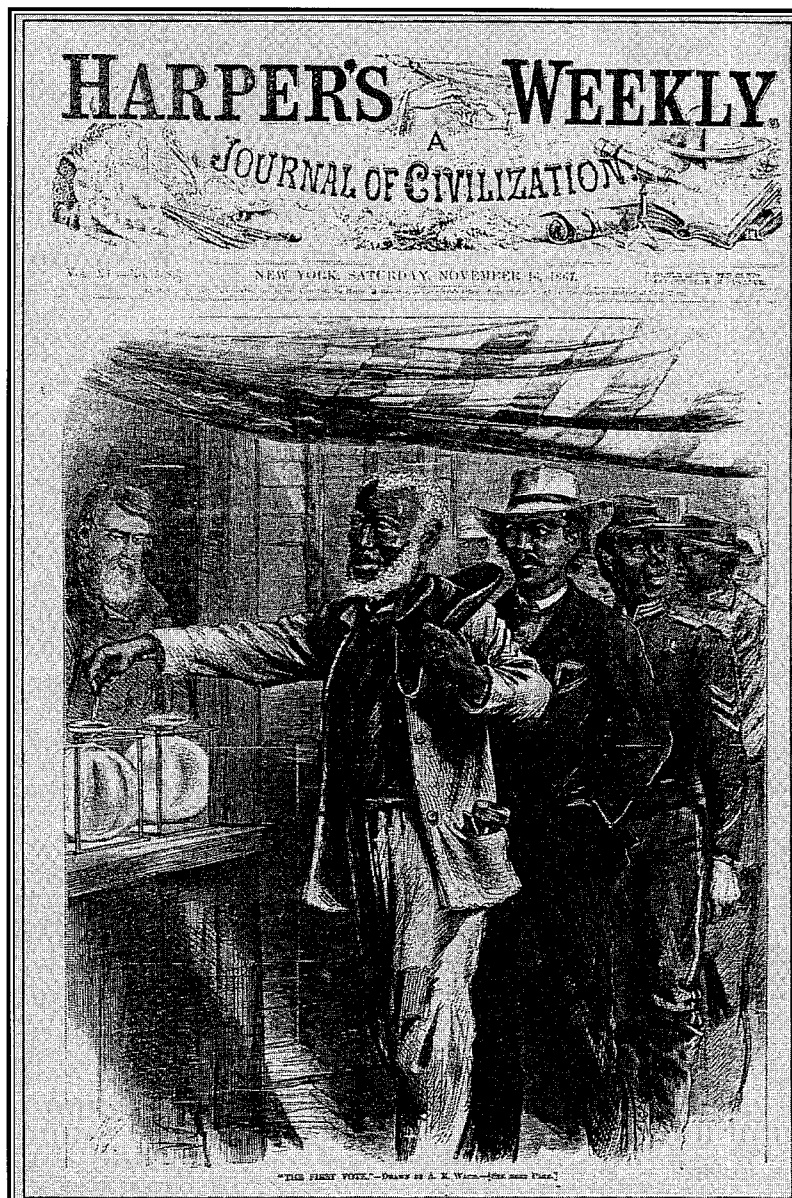
Gloria Triumphe! We are free ! The Fifteenth Amendment which confers upon us full rights of citizenship has received the ratification of the requisite number of States ; and when officially announced by the Secretary of State will become the law of the land and *must* be obeyed—the special pleadings of Gov. Haight and the fulminations of the Democratic majority of the Legislature of California, and the sinuous course of the New York Legislature, to the contrary notwithstanding.

We announced last week that Georgia had ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, thus re-uniting herself to the sisterhood of States. Since then, Iowa has ratified the Fifteenth, which completes the number. The records now stand as follows :—

Arkansas	Connecticut
Florida	Illinois
Indiana	Kansas
Louisiana	Maine
Massachusetts	Michigan
Missouri	Nevada
New Hampshire	New York
North Carolina	Pennsylvania
South Carolina	Vermont
Virginia	West Virginia
Wisconsin	Alabama
Minnesota	Ohio
Rhode Island	Mississippi
Georgia	Iowa.

Two more States will undoubtedly ratify it, namely : Texas and Nebraska, which will make thirty, being two more than the required number. It is not probable Secretary Fish will issue his Proclamation, until those States are heard from, as the Legislature of Texas is now in session, and the Governor of Nebraska has called a special session of the Legislature to meet 17th instant to act on this on subject.

Let us be prepared to commemorate the event with due observance of joy, praise and thanksgiving. A public meeting will be held for that purpose on Wednesday evening next, 16th instant.



After decades of struggling for equality and justice for African Americans, Philip Bell celebrated the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in the pages of *The Elevator*, left, on February 11, 1870. Above, "The First Vote," by A. R. Ward in *Harper's Weekly*, November 16, 1867. Before passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, which forbade any state from denying suffrage to any citizen because of race, color, or "previous condition of servitude," Radical state governments throughout the South had already granted the right to vote under certain conditions to black men. After 1867 newly franchised black voters comprised a majority of Radical electorates in five Southern States—Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. Courtesy Library of Congress.

However, just as the black community was stepping up its efforts on behalf of the Fifteenth Amendment, so too were the opponents of the amendment doing the same. Arguing that Congress should not be allowed to determine how individual states governed themselves, California Governor Henry Haight, a Democrat, promised repeatedly to nullify the amendment if it passed.³⁹ U.S. Senator Eugene Casserly played on white fears by suggesting that it would lead to the "amalgamation of the races."⁴⁰ The majority of San Francisco's newspapers supported Haight's and Casserly's opposition. Although they were opposed to black enfranchisement as well, the leading concern these newspapers' editorials voiced was the effect that such a constitutional amendment would have on Chinese immigration. As an editorial in the July 19, 1869, issue of the *San Francisco Daily Examiner* suggests, the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment would bring about "direful consequences" for the state.

Judging the Radicals by their actions of the past . . . no one can doubt for a moment that they would seize with avidity upon the opportunity offered by the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to strike from the naturalization laws the word "white," and thus open the doors of citizenship and suffrage to the hordes of Mongolians now in our midst, and to the myriads who may hereafter be precipitated upon us, when they become aware of the advantages presented to them in this country. Can any one see an end of this? Dare any lover of this country picture in his fancy the agreeable sensation produced by having Fung Tang Governor of California? . . . If the people are true to themselves, to their history, traditions and the spirit of their laws, they will by their votes in September decide against the Fifteenth Amendment, and thus bar the door forever against the entrance of the Asiatic heathen.⁴¹

Despite the renewed efforts on the part of Bell, the black community, and other reformers, in September 1869, California's white voters rejected the Fifteenth Amendment. This outcome suggested the deep-seated fear that continued to grip this racially entrenched majority.

The disappointment and sorrow shared by Bell and his constituents did not last. Although California failed to pass the amendment, it was adopted by the necessary two-thirds majority of states and was ratified in February 1870. "*Gloria Triumphe! We are free!*" exclaimed Bell in the opening line of his editorial marking the amendment's passage.⁴² As the news spread across California, black communities came together to celebrate the victory.⁴³ In San Francisco, the Executive Committee raised nearly a thousand dollars in two months in order to hold a grand celebration that included a procession and an evening dinner dance.

On that day in April, black leaders closed schools and businesses so that everyone could take part in this historic celebration. For the sixty-two-year-old Bell and others who had worked tirelessly for years to win blacks the vote, this moment represented the culmination of a lifetime's work.

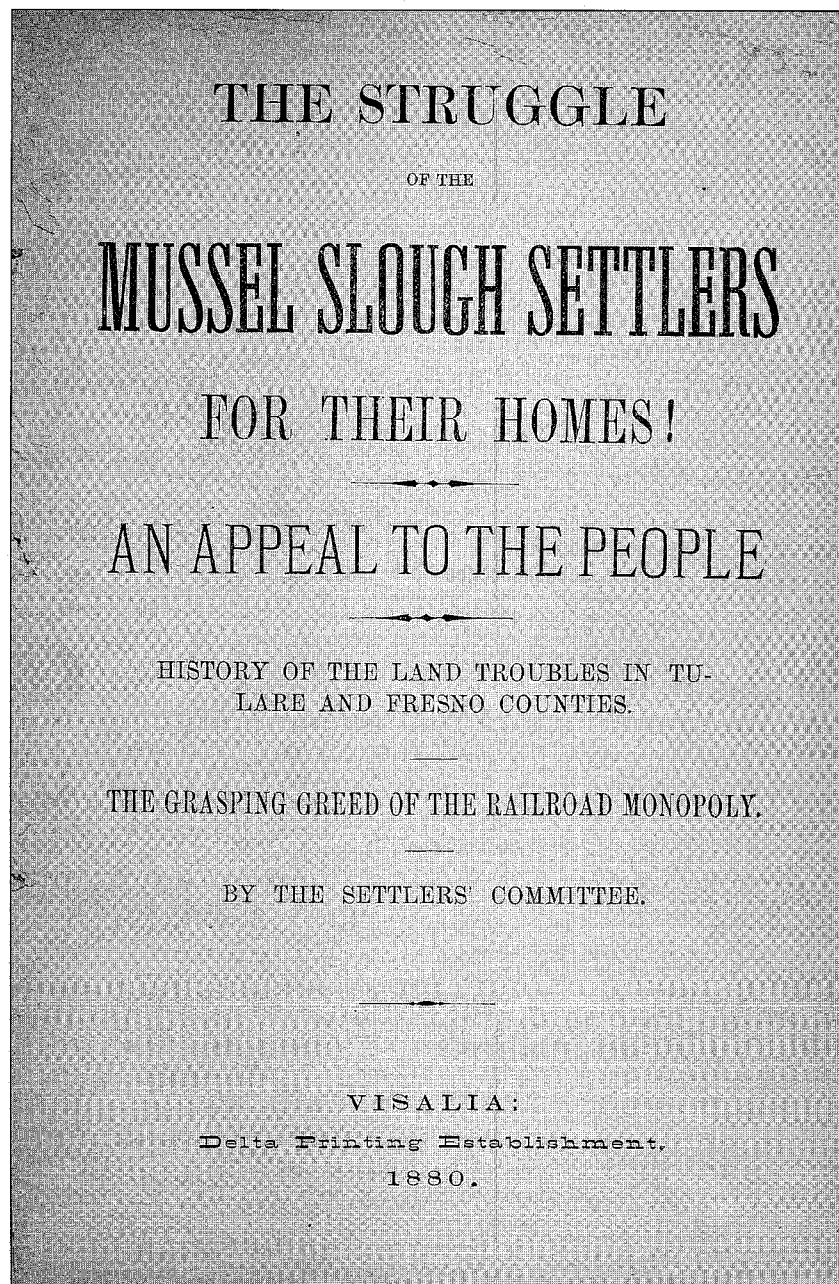
For Bell, however, the fight for other gains continued. No sooner was the amendment party over than he returned to his newspaper to continue writing on behalf of his race and his community. He published *The Elevator* for another fifteen years. Illness finally forced him to retire in 1885. Now seventy-seven years old, Bell was both physically and financially crippled.⁴⁴ For the last four years of his life, he lived on meals donated by the Palace Hotel kitchen help and funds raised by volunteers.⁴⁵ On April 25, 1889, he died in a San Francisco almshouse.

In the twenty years following the Civil War, when American society was increasingly becoming divided along race, class, and gender lines, Philip Bell sought to bring the marginalized community of which he was part into the political mainstream. Through *The Elevator*, he had helped to improve relations between blacks and whites. His efforts at winning blacks the vote were a vital part of that process. Although his contributions did not directly lead to the Fifteenth Amendment's passage, they were invaluable and inspiring to San Francisco's black community. Not only did his newspaper give blacks a public voice in the political debate, more importantly, perhaps, it served to educate a newly granted citizenry on the general nature of American politics. Memorialized by sociologist William W. Brown as the "Napoleon of the colored press," Philip Bell provided unparalleled leadership in the campaign for racial equality.⁴⁶

CHS

See notes beginning on page 71.

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Cover and title page of the pamphlet issued by the Mussel Slough squatters to rally support for their cause after an infamous shootout on May 11, 1880. Following a nearly decade-long challenge to the titles of the Southern Pacific to railroad land-grants in the Tulare Basin of the San Joaquin Valley, during which settlers resorted to legal protests, intimidation of those who bought land from the company, and violence, courts rejected the claims and a federal marshal arrived to evict several squatters occupying railroad land illegally. When the squatters offered more armed resistance, a gunfight erupted, killing five squatters and two other local residents who had bought land from the railroad. One of the most famous events of California history, memorialized in literature and generations of political campaigning, the Battle of Mussel Slough became a powerful symbol of the struggle between powerful business interests and "the people." *California Historical Society, North Baker Research Library, FN-31567.*

FARMERS' RHETORIC OF DEFENSE: California Settlers Versus the Southern Pacific Railroad

by William Conlogue

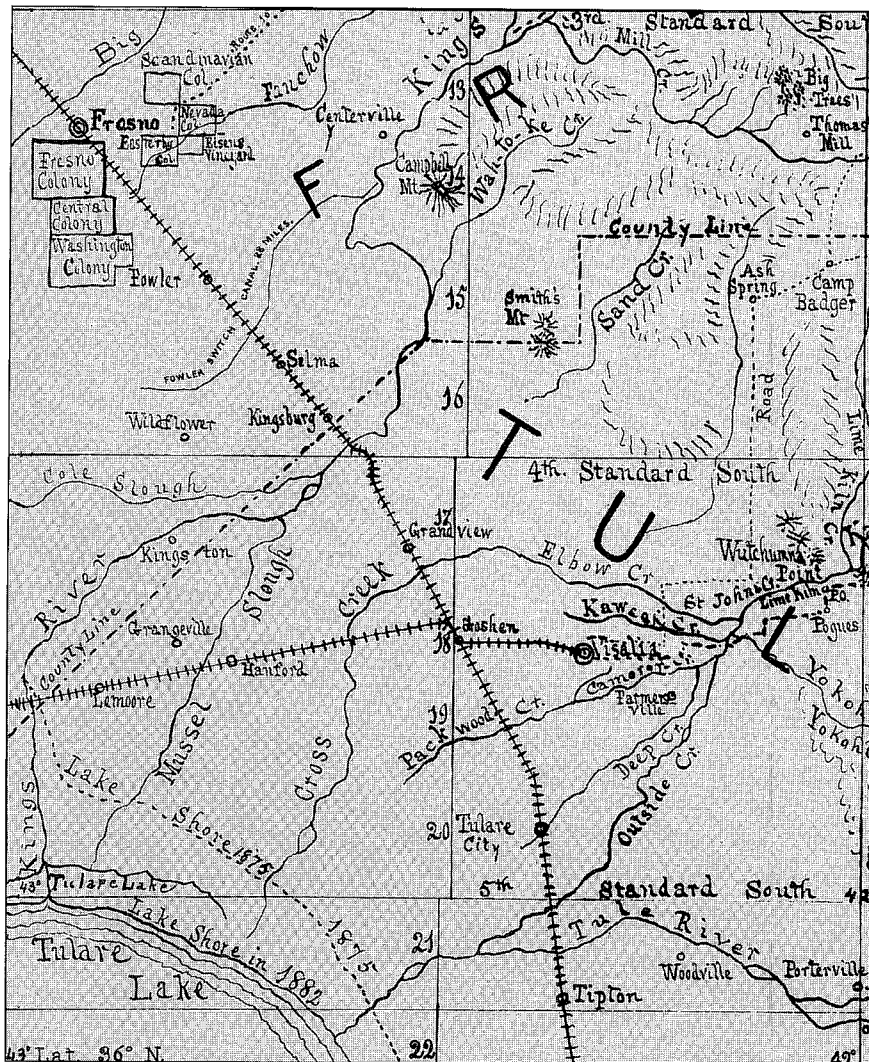
On May 11, 1880, a federal marshal, accompanied by two heavily armed men, rode through California's Mussel Slough country enforcing court orders evicting farmers from illegally occupied lands the men had purchased from a railroad company. Soon confronted by forty settlers demanding he stop, the sympathetic marshal replied that he was duty-bound to proceed. When settlers tried to disarm him, he resisted; in the confusion he was flattened by a frightened horse. Mistaking this for an attack, his companions fired, and a gun battle briefly raged. Seven deaths resulted, climaxing events mythologized as a land war between small farmers and the Southern Pacific Railroad.¹ The Mussel Slough tragedy became one of the most important and noticed events in California history, symbolizing as it did for many people then and now the epic struggle between the common people and large corporations that seemed to characterize the late-nineteenth century state and nation.

Feeding the myth is a pamphlet spawned by the incident, *The Struggle of the Mussel Slough Settlers for their Homes! An Appeal to the People*, a key primary source for scholars investigating the history of the Mussel Slough land troubles in the San Joaquin Valley. A defensive culmination of settlers' perspectives on events, the pamphlet collects farmers' most important arguments, answers the most damaging charges leveled against them, and appeals for public support. As "the only important armed clash" between nineteenth-century American farmers and railroads, as the inspiration for several farm novels and plays—including Frank Norris's *The Octopus*—and as a staple in anti-railroad agitation for thirty years, the Mussel Slough tragedy is a significant moment in American agricultural history whose rhetorical struggle deserves closer attention.²

Understanding how nineteenth-century farmers argued gives us a powerful insight into how they felt about themselves, their work, and their prospects. Exploring farm documents' wrestling with context, audience, and purpose explodes the assumption that nineteenth-century farmers spoke with one voice and illuminates the local contours of their struggles. In arranging their language of protest, ordinary farm men and women fashioned their worldviews to appeal to contemporaries. If we can learn more about how local groups of farmers reacted to their immediate crises, we can know more about the philosophies, goals, and contradictions of the larger social movements they organized, directed, and forwarded. It is not enough to know the content of farmers' arguments: we need to analyze *how* they argued to understand the positions they defended. As an example of such an analysis, this essay studies one significant document's handling of contexts, audience and purpose, logical and emotional appeals, and manipulation of language.³

REMOTE CAUSES OF THE MUSSEL SLOUGH STRUGGLE

The collision of farmers and the railroad at Mussel Slough has its remote cause in two federal acts passed in 1862. The Homestead Act officially expressed the labor-as-capital values farmers took to California; the Pacific Railroad Act authorized a transcontinental railroad linking east and west markets. The latter act, amended in 1864, granted the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads 640-acre sections of public lands, "designated by odd numbers, to the amount of ten alternate sections per mile on each side of the railroad." The even-numbered sections remained public land subject to settlement by anyone. Only when a railroad completed a given consecutive stretch of road did the government offi-



Map drawn by J. W. A. Wright of portions of Tulare (now Kings) and Fresno counties, 1883, showing the Mussel Slough district at the lower left. The railroad line running from west to east through Hanford and then south from Goshen was the main line, still uncompleted, of the Southern Pacific connecting the San Francisco region with southern California and points east. In the late nineteenth century, Mussel Slough was a flowing branch of the Kings River, which carried water from the melting Sierra snowpack to Tulare Lake. Drained by water diversion, pumping, and filling, Tulare Lake has now nearly vanished, its former lakebed the site of large corporate farms. Although most of the squatters' protest activity occurred in Hanford, major rail center of the region, the Battle of Mussel Slough took place on a lonely tract near Grangeville, a few miles to the northwest. From Elliott and More, *History of Tulare County* (1883). Courtesy California State Library.

cially convey the land, usually after some delay. Railroads acquired a varied, but usually large, number of acres per mile. Once a railroad determined where its line would run, it encouraged settlement along that line and often printed circulars offering to sell the land to settlers. But companies did not always build where they had originally planned; some located or changed routes to acquire the most useful, profitable land or to secure the best subsidies from competing communities along potential routes, or to avoid rugged terrain.⁴

An example is the Southern Pacific. On July 27, 1866, California authorized it to build a road south to San Diego and to meet the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad at the state line. The Southern Pacific was offered land grants similar to the Central Pacific's, but its articles of association specified that it build a road along the coast before swinging east in the southern part of the state. Since most coastal lands

were hilly and in private hands, the company later moved its line to the more level, less encumbered Central Valley by filing a map of the new route with the Interior Department on January 3, 1867. "By switching into the central valley, not only would some of the richest agricultural districts in the state be opened up but the railroad could take advantage of the generous land-grant privileges in the [Pacific Railroad] Act."⁵ Once railroads had filed such maps of their intended routes with the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior, and the department's secretary accepted the map, the law specified that the odd-numbered land sections within the land grant along the routes were immediately closed to further settlement by purchasers or homesteaders and placed in a reservation for future transfer of titles to the railroads.

Drawn by anticipation of railroad service and sharply increased land values, settlers and specula-

tors moved into Mussel Slough as early as 1870. Some persons purchased land from the government on the even-numbered sections, but some illegally entered the odd-numbered sections closed to ordinary settlement and reserved to be transferred to railroad ownership once the line was completed through the area. It was common for settlers to buy and sell such speculative claims even before they had title. Some had multiple claims to tracts on both even-numbered government sections and odd-numbered railroad sections. The arid area did not reveal its true wealth until it was well-irrigated, however. In 1872, the year rail service came to the region, farmers completed two irrigation canals, the Lower Kings River Ditch and the People's Ditch, diverting water from the Sierra and valley streams. Because of access to water and a railroad, "land prices in the Mussel Slough country increased about fourfold." More people flocked to the valley, and soon a wheat boom was on. Though the region was quickly a cradle of several 10,000-acre wheat farms, most farms were between 100 and 499 acres.⁶

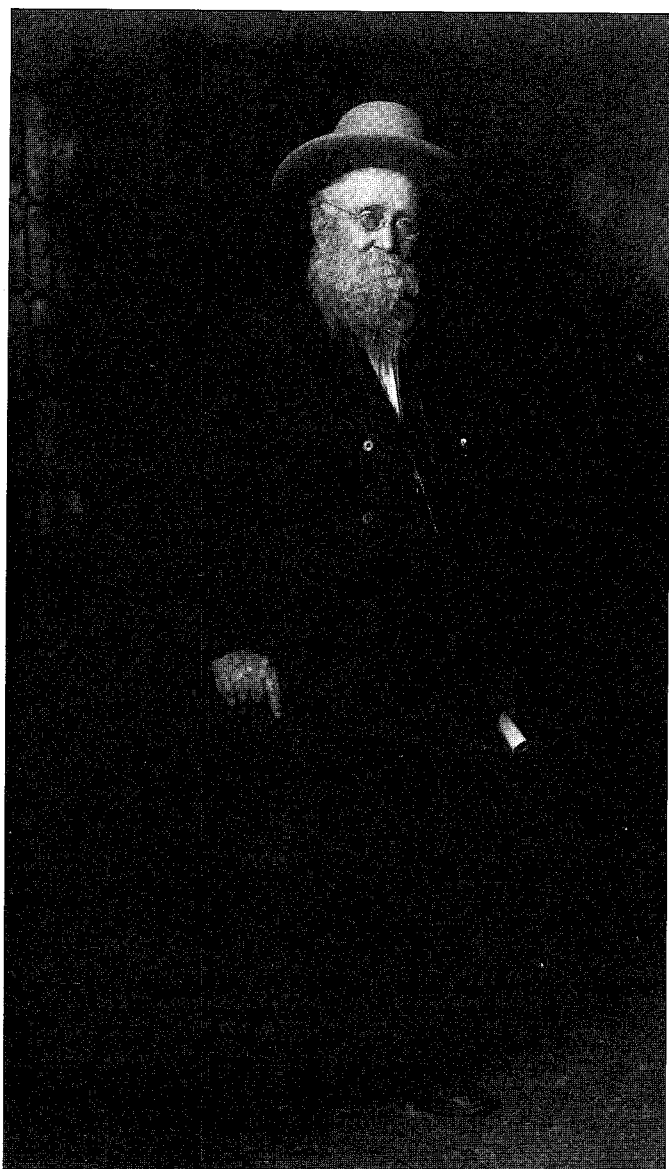
Many settlers occupying railroad land believed that the company, once it had gotten title from the federal government, would sell to them at the land's unimproved government price—\$2.50 per acre. Others never intended to pay the railroad for the land, but worked from the beginning to overturn the railroad's title. But as settlers improved their lands, the land rights of all classes of occupants hung in limbo. Through the 1870s, they unsuccessfully tried securing title from the government, arguing that the railroad had no legal right to change the route and to build where it did and, even if it had, that it ought to sell to them at the minimum government price. To complicate matters, the Southern Pacific, about 1875, in anticipation of finally receiving title to Mussel Slough lands and after many rival claimants to its lands in the area had already arrived, began issuing pamphlets advertising its lands and inviting settlers to purchase. One such circular announced that "If the settler desires to buy, the company gives him the first privilege of purchase at the fixed price, which, in every case, shall only be the value of the land, *without regard to the improvements*." After much confusion and delay, the Southern Pacific received its land patents in the district on October 20, 1877, and soon began offering settlers their claims at what settlers maintained was the lands' *improved* prices, usually several or more times the government price. The railroad countered that it was the rail line's construction, and not the settlers' improvements, that

had raised the land's value. Alarmed, ignored by Congress, and rebuffed by the Interior Department, six hundred settlers on April 12, 1878, formed a Settlers' Grand League to fight the company. The Grand League conducted paramilitary operations of secret, hooded cavalry, who burned out or evicted land-buyers who agreed to purchase from the railroad. Finally, on May 11, 1880, when the Southern Pacific had won court judgments against trespassers and a federal marshal attempted to evict those who would not pay, men were gunned down.⁷

LOCAL TENSION

Though appearing to speak for all in Mussel Slough, *The Struggle of the Mussel Slough Settlers* pamphlet, published after the tragic gun battle, walks a fine line between supporters and non-supporters of the position of the settlers/squatters. The region's population was not simply anti-railroad: "The Mussel Slough land battle . . . involved a deep-seated struggle among different kinds of settlers, not just between settlers and the Southern Pacific." The first Anglo settlers, primarily cattlemen, were not happy with the later-coming farmers and their fences; the cattlemen tended to see themselves, too, as a regional elite, and many held pro-railroad views. Among the newer settlers were also farmers or speculators on odd-numbered lands who were willing to pay the railroad's graded price; several were even accused of foiling a June 1880 compromise between the company and the League. Adding to tensions, the new settlers, a mix of honest farmers and opportunists ready to exploit a railroad settlement, were mainly southerners fleeing the occupied, war-ravaged former Confederate states and who reviled the Southern Pacific as a Republican Yankee organization as repressive as the Reconstructionists then tyrannizing the South.⁸

Questioning settlers' obedience to federal law, the railroad often reciprocated by "waving the bloody shirt," especially in the face of League leader Thomas Jefferson McQuiddy, a Tennessean and former Confederate spy and army major. The rebel charge stung so that the pamphlet answers it twice, first by identifying settlers as loyal Americans, like the reader, and reporting that, though many hailed from New England and western states, "some are from the South is true, but they are good, true men; they are peaceable, law-abiding men, and they are brave men" (pages 30-31). In its penultimate section, the charge that the League is "a body of rebels" is dismissed as "an infamous calumny" (p. 31). To iden-



Thomas Jefferson McQuiddy, shown in 1900. A former Confederate cavalry officer and spy, "Major" McQuiddy had migrated to the Mussel Slough country from Tennessee and Missouri in 1873. He legally purchased large tracts of land on even-numbered government sections and, like many of his neighbors, also moved over to occupy speculative squatter claims on the odd-numbered government sections. An experienced politician and soldier, McQuiddy emerged as a leader in the squatter opposition to the railroad. He was the organizer and principal "officer" in the paramilitary squatter cavalry militia formed in 1879 to resist evictions from railroad land. *Courtesy California State Library.*

tify settlers with its loyal American readers, the pamphlet reaches back to the American Revolution; the railroad company is a "band of heartless tyrants" worse than "George III, whose yoke was thrown off by our ancestors" (p. 29).⁹

The railroad also had a history of hostility with Tulare County's largest town. When Visalia refused "to pay the exorbitant bribes the Southern Pacific demanded" to build to it, the railroad swung west and created its own town, Tulare City. Visalia's Delta Printing Establishment, publisher of the *Visalia Weekly Delta* and printer of the pamphlet, was vehemently anti-Southern Pacific. Its newspaper advertised itself as working in "The Interests of the People...it advocates the popular rights in opposition to rings, cliques, and oppressive corporations...the property-owner cannot afford to be without it." Its pages carried League-written articles, and the newspaper was officially given the League's thanks at a September 20, 1880, League picnic. The paper's "accounts of some of the participants" in the Mussel Slough gun battle were reprinted across the nation. Editor Charles Morrow wrote an anti-railroad novel based on the shootout, *Blood Money*, published by the *Delta's* owners in 1882.¹⁰

PRE-MAY 11 ASSERTION/POST-MAY 11 DEFENSE

The space designated to sections of an argument illustrates the importance writers attach to those parts. Thirty-three pages long, including cover, string-bound, and approximately 5 3/4" by 8 1/2," the pamphlet creates exigence simply by reminding readers of the "lamentable occurrence of the 11th of May" (p. 3). Pages 4 through 12 detail the settler-railroad title dispute, while pages 12 through 14 suggest a September creation of the pamphlet, reprinting an August 1880 California Supreme Court ruling "rendered during the last few weeks" that claims railroad circulars are contracts (p. 12). The center of the pamphlet (pages 15 through 18) is a narrative by the sister of a shootout victim. Pages 18 through 22 connect land values to settlers' improvements, and pages 22 through 29 reprint settler-railroad correspondence just before the shootings. A conclusion follows on pages 29 through 32.

That the document compiles previously published material, most of it from the *Delta*, raises serious interpretative questions because such material appeared in radically different rhetorical situations. Taking the offensive, pre-May 11 publications challenge the railroad. For example, "An Appeal to the People" appears in the *Delta* on May 7, just four days

before the shootings, as tensions rose to a fever pitch. Addressed to the "people of California," the article predicts "bloodshed and outlawry" if the government fails to take action on the settlers' behalf. But when the article is reprinted in the pamphlet, these key phrases are cut, indicating that, in wake of the shootings and in appealing to the world, the settlers had quickly distanced themselves from responsibility for a tragedy they predicted.¹¹

Though pre-May 11 material asserts settlers' rights in the public relations battle with the railroad, post-May 11 publications show settlers on the defensive. For example, appearing in the *Delta* on June 4 is the narrative of the woman who "lost a brother (A. McGregor) in the late fearful slaughter." Instead of predicting violence, settlers have now become victims of violence. The post-May 11 pamphlet, combining pieces printed before and after May 11, retains a defensive posture begun in the immediate post-May 11 atmosphere, when League supporters were quickly and sharply answering critics, who were many, throughout the state and nation. A May 28 *Delta* response to a May 21 letter ends, "Your correspondent should inform himself upon a subject of so great importance, before writing articles tending to prejudice the public mind against the settlers...." By September, support had deteriorated even within the League; members were defecting, League leaders had been indicted, and neighbors were coming to terms with the railroad. By this time, too, settlers, having lost all court cases and appeals, had long ceased defending their legal claim to the land; they now sought only a reduction in its graded price. With the public appeal of their agrarian ideals waning, the settlers' zeal in fighting the Southern Pacific ebbed.¹²

CREATING AN AUDIENCE/DEFINING THEMSELVES

Writers do not merely target an audience. They create one. When the pamphlet speaks to "the people," "the Candid Men and Women of the World," "the public mind" (cover and p. 3), it addresses a universal audience, which, according to a recent authority on rhetoric, is not "an experimentally proven fact, but...a universality and unanimity imagined by the speaker." Since "each individual, each culture, has thus its own conception of the universal audience," analyzing a particular construction of it illuminates the writer's own understanding of his fellows. The pamphlet's conception of audience is mainly a reflection of settlers' own self-identity. Addressed as those who "sympathize with the right" (p. 3), "men and women of heart and soul and justice" (p. 18), and

"fellow-citizens" (p. 30), the pamphlet's audience is assumed to be anti-railroad: "jealousy of railroad corporations does not exist simply because they *are* corporations, but because it is known to all men that they too often take advantage of their great power to annoy and oppress individuals" (p. 3). This language targets a wide swath of the late-nineteenth-century American public, though small farmers fighting high freight rates and urban workers decrying low wages would especially recognize and appreciate an appeal by "hundreds of poor men" (p. 3), "hundreds of houseless and homeless" who relocated to California or else "remain houseless and homeless forever" (p. 14), "poor men" (p. 14), and "the poor settler" (p. 18).¹³

That the pamphlet preaches to the converted, to a universal audience centering on small farmers and urban workers, is even clearer when we consider its local context. The Mussel Slough country was fertile ground for agrarian radicalism. One indication was that a Mussel Slough village was named Grangeville. Hanford, its principal town—ironically, named for a Southern Pacific auditor—was "a California stronghold of the national Anti-Monopoly League." J. W. A. Wright, League "intellectual and penman," had been a member "high in the councils of the state and national Grange." And mainly small farmers were affected by the land dispute; according to court records, rival claims to railroad land averaged 128 acres.¹⁴

Mussel Slough farmers had sympathetic ties to workers in San Francisco. For example, John J. Doyle, a League leader and in many ways the originator and principal propagandist of the squatter rush, was affiliated with militant labor organizer Denis Kearney. In 1879 Doyle represented Tulare County at the Workingmen's Party Convention in San Francisco and cemented a political alliance between Mussel Slough farmers and urban workers when he convinced the convention to pass a resolution supporting the former. Kearney spoke to enthusiastic crowds in Mussel Slough towns in the spring of 1879. The pamphlet's anti-corporate descriptions of the Southern Pacific—"grasping greed of the railroad monopoly" and "the money power"—also echo established eastern labor rhetoric (cover, p. 31).¹⁵

To refute charges of vigilantism against League members, the pamphlet describes an audience sensitive to the rule of law. The reader is urged to render "a verdict . . . after reading what is here submitted"; and the document concludes, "We appeal . . . to your verdict as to the *justice* of our

cause" (pp. 3, 32). The pamphlet asks readers to rule on two definitions: "Whether or not [the Southern Pacific] is oppressive, exacting, rapacious and heartless" and, more importantly, "whether or not the hundreds of poor men who, with their families, have settled upon these lands, are mere 'squatters' upon the lands and trespassers upon the rights of the Railroad Company" (p. 3). Though the squatter was seen as "almost a folk hero in the Midwest and plains states," many Californians feared that squatters worked "to bring law and order in California to its knees." Afraid the public might perceive them as "'outlaws'" and "'landjumpers'" in the shootout's aftermath, settlers who included many who indeed had from the beginning been true squatters, now present themselves as "law-abiding" citizens who "would aid in the enforcement of the law" and who look to the U.S. Supreme Court as the court "by whose decisions we must all abide" (pp. 31, 32).¹⁶

PURPOSE(S)

The pamphlet works to maintain public sympathy, which settlers had generally enjoyed before May 11, but which had slipped dangerously immediately after. Following the shootings, one staunch supporter, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, castigated settlers for placing "themselves clearly in the wrong before the tribunal of public opinion." Worse, the public's first impressions of the shootings were the railroad's. Immediately after the killings, railroad officials "clamped down a rigid censorship" in Mussel Slough, closing local telegraph offices and stopping all trains. Company officials in San Francisco, including president Charles Crocker, personally visited newspapers with a version of events that was published the next day. Ten days after the shooting, the *Delta* wondered, "How shall we retain the best wishes and the good will so generously manifested in our behalf?" In the same issue, a letter-writer notes



The railroad town of Hanford, the political and commercial center of the Mussel Slough country, shown in 1877, shortly after its founding by the Southern Pacific. *Courtesy California State Library.*

that "it is feared by some of the most ardent supporters and best friends of these settlers, that the influence of armed men, believed to be working in connection with the league, will yet have an unhappy effect upon the public mind." In such conditions, suppressing suggestions of vigilantism and keeping sympathy alive meant holding the public mind in an anti-railroad, anti-corporate mood.¹⁷

Behind the League's public relations problem lies a real history of violence beginning in November 1878. Companies of armed men paraded nightly through the streets of Hanford. League members were guilty of arson and of holding at gunpoint pro-railroad individuals and employees. League activities reflect California's long history of vigilantism, and its specific tactics may have been modeled on Ku Klux Klan nightriding. The May 11 violence soon led to the defection of League secretary Luther J. Hawley. And right after the shooting, even supporters within the League were deserting. According to one recent account of the tragedy's aftermath, "after June 1 droves of settlers rushed to take advantage of the railroad's [latest] offer [of reduced prices]," and by December 1880 most had legalized their claims.¹⁸

The arrest of seven Leaguers in August raises further questions about the pamphlet's audience and purpose. Their November 30–December 23 trial ended in five being sentenced on charges of resisting a U.S. marshal. The pamphlet, then, appeared between their arrest and conviction. Was the pamphlet written to present the settlers' case—en masse, as it claims—or was it issued to exonerate those arrested by showing that the soulless railroad was at fault? Both. The pamphlet touches the indictments in its conclusion: "the sword of prosecution that has so sorely smitten us, may be invoked by us in return . . . We have been prosecuted and persecuted. . . ." (p.32) The pamphlet gives the world a reasoned account of the Mussel Slough trouble, but the context of its appearance suggests that it is as well an argument for the acquittal of League leaders. Accusations had been leveled against Doyle by several writers, among them Ambrose Bierce, no railroad sympathizer, who accuse Doyle of fomenting the entire anti-railroad campaign to engineer a payoff or to obtain cheap land for speculative purposes. In the end, Doyle, Patterson, J. D. Purcell, W. L. Pryor, and William Braden were given "brief sentences to San Jose prison; an ovation was tendered them on their release" in 1881.¹⁹

In addition, by September 1880, the League's

image problem had become a financial one. At a poorly attended picnic held on September 20, members discussed the "urgent necessity of promptly raising the necessary funds for continuing the railroad cases." Attending were indicted league members Doyle and Patterson; though agreeing that "never before had the public sympathy been so aroused in behalf of the outraged settlers," they were fearful that League attorneys might lose heart if sufficient monies were not raised quickly. The meeting resolved that "a number of competent and reliable representatives be sent abroad into the various sections of this state, to correctly present the grievances of this people and to solicit pecuniary aid to carry on their litigations with the S.P.R.R. Co." As it was raising consciousness, the pamphlet was raising money. Distributed by these representatives it served as documentation of settlers' claims and was itself a surrogate representative.²⁰

BUT WHO WROTE IT?

The pamphlet seeks a single voice to create a sense of unanimity. Its cover proclaims that its creators are members of the "Settlers' Committee," a subdivision of "The League," a body of settlers formed to "enable [the settlers] to present against the money power arrayed against [them] by the railroad an opposition which it was impossible for [them] to do as individuals" (p. 31). No one is named. The effort is to present a united front, a single, reasonable voice, rather than the voices of a clamorous multitude, to answer the corporation's voice. Faced with a corporate body, the settlers form themselves as a corporate body. Doing so alludes to their League's articles of formation: "we will stand in the attitude of one man until our case is finally adjudicated in the United States Supreme Court." The single voice facilitates spreading a single story, especially in the hands of representatives carrying the pamphlet to the ends of the state. But, as we have seen, this voice did not speak for everyone in Mussel Slough.²¹

Though it seeks a single voice, the pamphlet probably had no single writer. While J.W.A. Wright may have been the League's social philosopher and writer, McQuiddy, Patterson, and Doyle signed the original *Delta* articles and were selected to negotiate lower prices with Leland Stanford in March 1880 in a failed last-ditch effort at compromise (p. 24). Because there may be several composers of original parts of the pamphlet and because it compiles so many writers' work, it is more helpful to think of its creator as a redactor, possibly *Delta* editor Charles

Morrow, and one or more of the above League leaders, maybe others. In any case, from this angle, the document's arrangement is as significant as its prose: Why is it weighted with transcriptions of Interior Department correspondence? Why is a narrative at its center? Why conclude as it does? How does its arrangement speak to its audience? The answers lie in its assigning of responsibility for the troubles.²²

ASSIGNING RESPONSIBILITY: TO NATURAL OR ARTIFICIAL PERSONS?

The pamphlet, appearing at a crucial moment in farm/legal history, is not sure how many voices it confronts, suggesting that its creators are unsure who is responsible: the individuals who make up the company? Or the company as an entity? Deciding is important legally and rhetorically—legally for regulatory purposes, rhetorically to argue accountability convincingly.

In the late 1870s and early 1880s, amidst an increasingly complex national economy, federal courts were wrestling with defining corporations. Were they "artificial persons" or collections of natural people? Should they be accorded the same rights as natural persons? The U.S. Ninth Circuit Court in San Francisco, which ruled against the settlers in the railroad's test case, *Southern Pacific v. Orton* (1879) and many other cases that followed in 1879 and 1880, took the lead in defining corporations as artificial persons. In *Orton*, Judge Lorenzo Sawyer defined a corporation as an artificial person: "When such a being is brought into existence, a corporation has been created. A legal entity, a person, has been created, with a capacity to do by its corporate name such things as the legislative power may permit." This artificial person's rights—and profits—were soon protected under the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment in Sawyer and Stephen J. Field's rulings in *San Mateo v. Southern Pacific* (1882) and *Santa Clara v. Southern Pacific* (1883), rulings that "today stand as the highest—indeed in some respects the only—authoritative judicial statement and justification of the corporate constitutional 'person.'" Sharply reducing states' power to regulate railroads, the latter cases reversed the Supreme Court's stance in 1870s Granger cases, such as *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), which had affirmed Illinois's right "to establish maximum rates for storing grain."²³

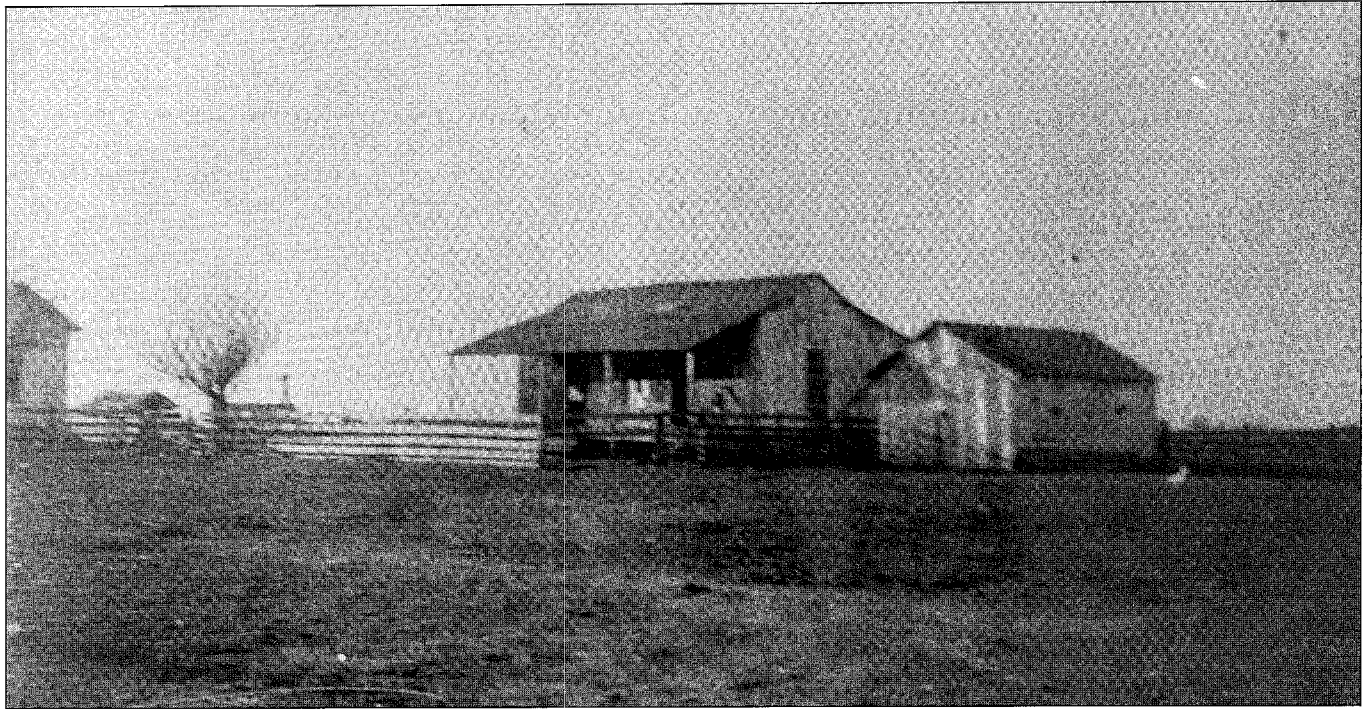
The pamphlet's language embodies the debate over corporate number: for example, the Southern Pacific is "a great corporation, whose individual

members are worth their scores of millions" (p. 18). Its choice of pronouns points to its confusion of definition; at times the pamphlet refers to the "Railroad Company" and "the Southern Pacific Railroad" in the singular, as "it" (pp. 3, 11), at other times as "they" (pp. 4, 6), and interchangeably as "it" and "they" (p. 8). Though acknowledging the corporation's agency as a single entity in creating roads and buildings, the pamphlet wants to assign corporate responsibility to individuals, "railroad cormorants" (p. 18), "heartless tyrants" (p. 29), and "railroad magnates" (p. 31), presumably Crocker, Stanford, and Huntington. But while its metaphorical language consistently personifies the company and its deceit, it does so in both the singular and plural. For example, Secretary of the Interior O. H. Browning's July 14, 1868, reprinted letter restoring railroad lands to the public domain "tore the mask from railroad pretensions, and left their land fraud, naked as Adam before the era of fig leaves, to the gaze of the world" (p. 5). And, "greed and avarice had calloused their consciences and gangrened their souls" (p. 18). Though the pamphlet's confusion over what a corporation is probably went unnoticed by its intended audience, small farmers and urban workers, the document's personification, no matter the number, paints the company as a palpable evil—making its presence immediate and real for readers tuned to the anti-railroad agitation of the Grange and the Workingmen's Party of late 1870s California.²⁴

THE ARGUMENTS: MAPS AND PROMISES

But at a crucial point in its argument, the pamphlet suggests again a singular construction of the company in another allusion to Genesis. To claim that the Southern Pacific has denied its birth, the document reprints letters from two interior secretaries and an attorney general who argue that the company's state articles of association, rather than a map it filed with the Interior Department, January 3, 1867, "breathed into the corporation the breath of life" (p. 7). Carrying this implication to its logical conclusion, settlers argue that the Southern Pacific's failure to build its road where it was ordered to by law is a "fatal and flagrant defect"; in effect, the company does not exist because it was never legally born (p. 7). If the company does not legally exist, then no land patents could have been conveyed, and no one can take farmers' land. But if there is no company, what does one do with the finished road?²⁵

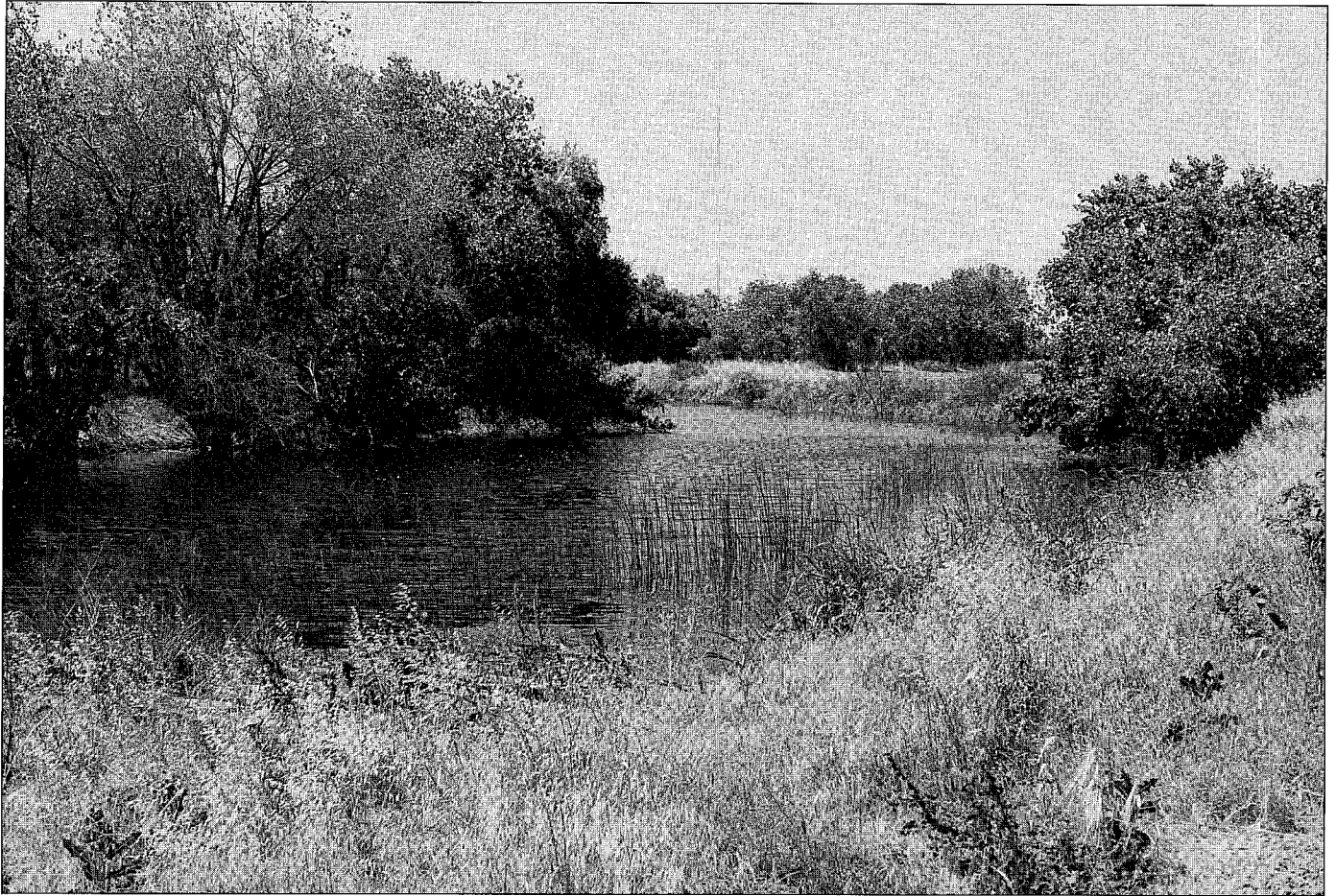
Defining the road's location was not a trivial matter. The rail route was the determining line on either



Farmstead near Grangeville of Henry Brewer, one of the Mussel Slough squatters, ca. late nineteenth century. Brewer had owned several legal farms, including this one, on even-numbered government land sections. With partner John Storer, however, he had for several years also occupied an unimproved, but cultivated 320-acre tract of railroad land to the south of this farm. Brewer, like many of the squatters, protected his investment by sheltering his improvements, including house, fence, barn and outbuildings, and water sources, on his legal farm. On May 11, 1880, U.S. Marshall Alonzo W. Poole was enforcing an eviction order against Brewer and Storer when forty armed militia riders in military formation attempted to stop him, touching off the Battle of Mussel Slough. *Courtesy Kings County Library, Hanford.*

side of which would be located specific odd-numbered sections the railroad would choose for its patents. Although most settlers could readily check maps at the federal land office in Visalia and certainly understood if they were or were not on reserved railroad land, because of a number of potential ambiguities, a few settlers did not know they occupied a specific railroad section until the line was built and the titles along it conveyed from the government to the company. Various definitions of reality hang in the balance: is the road the real thing? or its verbal representation? or its visual representation? According to the railroad's articles of formation, the road exists in counties along the California coast; according to the company, the road exists as mapped in the Central Valley. According to the settlers, even the constructed road cannot be the Southern Pacific because it does not connect to the company's lines from San Francisco. The visual representation wins over the verbal one and the subsequent fact of the road; Congress validated the map with the altered route on June 28, 1870, and the state of California followed shortly thereafter.²⁶

The map is the central element in settlers' arguments against railroad title; they point to it over and over again in antecedent arguments. For example, in an 1876 petition to Congress, Doyle argues that settlers "are *not* willing to admit that Congress loses control of this land simply on account of its [the land's] withdrawal [from settlement] and the filing of a line on paper [the map] in the General Land Office" (p. 12). The map is also a point of contention in *Orton*. Even after the shootings, when they file suit against railroad ejectments issued after May 11, settlers point to the "false and fraudulent map." For the League, the map is a symbol of the abstract nature of the company's claims, in contrast to the settlers' tangible possession. In the latter's view, their argument is based on solid ground, while the company founds its argument on paper-thin technicalities. But to distant arbiters of the conflict, members of a burgeoning federal bureaucracy and court system, the map has authority; settlers could not bring their grounds—sufficiently or literally—before a federal government rooted in disposing public land based on a grid system that depicted the land's commodification.²⁷



A remnant of Mussel Slough just east of Hanford, photographed in 1986. In the 1870s, some settlers in the district established cooperative, joint-stock irrigation companies to divert water from the slough onto their farms, increasing the value of their crops and lands. The irrigation works provided the principal basis for the settlers' contention that it was their improvements, not the railroad's construction, that had raised land values in the district. The Southern Pacific countered that without the railroad the new crops could not have been grown and marketed at a profit. Like many waterways and wetlands in the Central Valley, Mussel Slough by the twentieth century was largely obliterated by land-fill and upstream water-diversion. Only tiny portions of the once-flowing river remain. *Photograph by Editorial Office Staff.*

But to lend the impression that its argument has already been assented to by the federal government and to back claims about the illegality of railroad land grants, the pamphlet reproduces letters from officials representing the Grant and Hayes administrations. The paper trail is two-fold. First, it shows that settlers have a long history of patience in enlisting the government—and by association, the law—as an ally. And, by calling attention to their patience and their adherence to law, settlers defuse accusations of vigilantism. But federal law had, in fact, already denied their legal claims—the pamphlet, of course, does not mention the *Orton* case, or a string of legal precedents stretching back years and undercutting the settlers' arguments. Presenting its version of history as it does builds the pamphlet's

ethos: this is how the situation developed. The official, heavily documented backing conveys the necessary authority. In effect the pamphlet argues that if two administrations have sided with us for a dozen years, why are we still denied our rights? Underscoring the solidarity of these administrations' positions, the pamphlet notes that even when the Southern Pacific used "chicanery and fraud" in the hopes of bending the government to its will, it was unsuccessful (p. 6). Mentioning railroad "chicanery and fraud" again reminds readers to view the Southern Pacific as malevolent and answers the above question: the denial of settlers' rights is a railroad fraud, a land grab.

Granting the railroad's legal existence and the legality of its map, the pamphlet turns to arguing

that the settlers are, in fact, actual settlers, whose rights are protected by a Congressional joint resolution of June 28, 1870 (p. 8). What is an actual settler? Anyone living on railroad land? Those occupying the land before 1870? Or before the filing of the map? Or even before the creation of the company? Though *Orton* had defined an actual settler as someone who occupied the land prior to the filing of the map—making all others squatters—the pamphlet answers this decision by keeping before the reader the argument that railroad circulars inviting settlers to the land are contracts.²⁸

To support the circulars-are-contracts claim, the pamphlet lists “explicit promises” from circulars: to sell land at its unimproved price and to offer it first to the person occupying it (p. 12). The main warrant lying behind the claim is that the audience understands that “the whole theory of our government is founded upon the idea that promises, such as these are, assume the status of contracts” (p. 12). And, in fact, this claim was upheld by the California Supreme Court in *Boyd v. Brinckin*, decided August 27, 1880 (p. 12). The pamphlet allows the ruling to stand as an analogy to the Mussel Slough case; it reprints the judges’ opinion and bookends it with: “the following unanimous decision of the Supreme Court of this State, rendered during the last few weeks, upon an exactly parallel case, affecting the Central Pacific Railroad...The above decision of the Court is conclusive as to our equities” (pp. 12, 14). The case argues that settlers have solid reasons for an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, and its placing anticipates—and validates—a narrative by one actual settler who had “faith in their word” that the circulars were indeed promises (p. 16). Mary Chambers’s story, analyzed below, connects people and land in contrast to the company’s reliance on their alienation. Ultimately, however, the Supreme Court refuses to hear the settlers, thus silencing their collective voice.²⁹

THE HEART AND SOUL OF THE ARGUMENT: PATHOS AND CONCRETE VALUES

Though the pamphlet entreats readers’ reason, its central appeal is to their sympathy and self-identity. Not only is Mary Chambers’s narrative a relief from the legal labyrinth that comes before, it diverts attention from legal distinctions between squatter and settler. Not only does her narrative break the pamphlet’s pattern, it serves as its focal point. Appearing in the exact center of the work, the story grounds legal arguments in readers’ experience. She appeals not only to readers’ emotions, but to their identity as poten-

tial fellow sufferers of corporate injustice. Her narrative, the only extended, clearly post-May 11 piece in the pamphlet, defends the Jeffersonian ethic implied in its title and brings home the weight of the settlers’ conception of their equities.

Her defense of farmers’ equities relies on distinguishing a squatter from a settler (p. 15). While to her a squatter is “an idle, worthless person, who would rather enjoy what belonged to others than his own,” settlers are people who “made a country, built towns, churches and schoolhouses” in the manner of her neighbors—and presumably her readers (pp. 16, 17). But her description of a squatter serves another purpose. As part of her discussion of the irrigating of Mussel Slough, it shows exactly who lives there: industrious and valuable citizens—who just happen to be poor. Most cuttingly, in the larger context of the land trouble, her words perfectly affirm the settlers’ understanding of the company as “thieves in the night” (p. 17). Her plural personification confirms the entire pamphlet’s: both ultimately assign responsibility to the corporation as a set of individuals, though Chambers narrows her accusation to “railroad lords” Crocker and Stanford (p. 17).

Chambers argues that she and her neighbors are hardworking, salt-of-the-earth yeomen. In introducing her work, the pamphlet describes Mussel Slough’s pre-settlement environment, piling up several sentences using anaphora, for volume, which tend to be short and declarative: “It was the home of the tarantula and the lizard . . . It was arid and uninviting. In summer it was hot” (p. 14). The reliance on verbs of being—is and was, especially—lends this introduction an air of fact. Its switch to a third-person voice creates objectivity, especially in referring to settlers as “they” (pp. 14-15). The historical tone suggests an exact reckoning: “They had no capital...They thus had to live . . . They were inspired . . .” (pp. 14-15). After preparing readers for the truth of Chambers’s story, the pamphlet deploys it, like the best of illustrations, to “strengthen adherence to a known and accepted rule,” here that the Southern Pacific is wrongly persecuting law-abiding citizen-farmers. Her exemplum, in turn, strengthens reader adherence to the recounted history surrounding it.³⁰

Her most vivid and concrete details attend the key issue of value: what gave the land its worth—market access, i.e., the railroad? or farmers’ irrigation? Chambers’s pathos argues that it was irrigation:

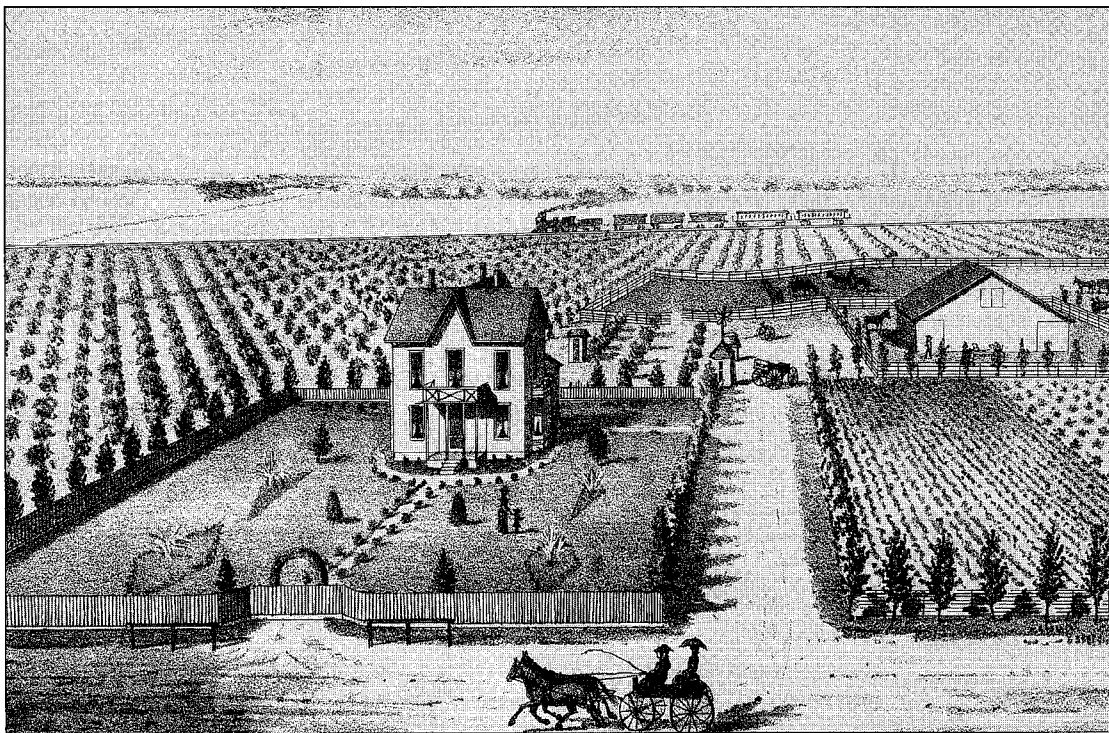
women and children ran out to see the first water

come in the ditch...I have known men, when they were working on those ditches, to grind corn in their coffee-mills to make their bread, and take their frying-pan with them and depend on catching fish for their meals (p. 16).

She beseeches the reader's sense of justice with a Jeffersonian understanding of settlers' equities: we own the land we sweated over. She describes in "simple truths [that] glow with a pathos that will reach all hearts not made of stone" the difficulty of hewing a home from the arid Mussel Slough and how heartrending it is to have that home threatened by the railroad (p. 15). The sister of a shootout victim, she embodies Mussel Slough as a story of family, not simply of legal abstraction.³¹

Chambers's and the railroad's perspectives on land values divide on time, too. Forward-looking, the latter suppresses history to sell land based on its potential; a typical circular, by Southern Pacific Land Agent Jerome Madden, claims, for example, that Fresno, Tulare, and Kern counties are "destined to be filled, at no distant time, with an intelligent and industrious people, and to be the centre of great

wealth." The expanding railroad, of course, creates value in providing access to more land and new markets. Settlers, however, look to a past of agrarian mythic progress: "the country was a barren plain of sand...the winter rainfall, as a rule, was entirely insufficient to mature crops of grain" (p. 14). Chambers's argument relies on history; land values are the culmination of past labors, not of markets. Since she and her husband had worked so hard to improve the land—by constructing on it "a house, barn, orchard, alfalfa pasture, flower garden, ditches, and a well-cultivated farm"—they have the right to it, regardless of legalities (p. 17). Without improvements, especially their ditches, the land would be worthless. Her reasoning has a long history in the United States, beginning with Thomas Jefferson, with roots in John Locke's theory of natural right. Andrew Jackson, George Julian, Henry George, and Horace Greeley all maintained that "wild land on the frontier had no value, that its value came from the improvement made upon it and in its vicinity." Events at Mussel Slough predict that this reasoning would find no place in a post-frontier United States.³²



This 1883 illustration of H. P. Gray's farm between Hanford and Lemoore in the Mussel Slough district exemplifies the image of orderly, productive, Jeffersonian agrarian people that the Mussel Slough squatters attempted to project for themselves. From Elliot and Moore, *History of Tulare County* (1883). Courtesy California State Library.

Chambers's words remind readers of contemporary disputes between squatters and other claimants, disputes hinging on similar arguments: the Des Moines River lands controversy—"one of the longest and bitterest conflicts between various contenders for title to well over a hundred thousand acres"—running from before the Civil War to the 1870s; the Osage "steal," where railroad companies negotiated five treaties to obtain 1,500,000 acres of Indian reserves; and the nearer controversy in California between Mexican ranch claimants and U.S. immigrants after the Mexican War. In this context, her argument is prophecy; if Mussel Slough farmers are not defined as settlers, they too will lose, adding to the list of railroad conquests. Other hard-working people—her readers—will be next.³³

POST-CHAMBERS

Following Chambers's improvers-are-settlers/irrigation-adds-value argument in the pamphlet is a May 28, 1880, report from a committee of "twelve disinterested citizens of Fresno and Tulare counties, as to the past and present value of these lands and the cause thereof" (p. 18). These "disinterested" citizens report that the land was worth only \$2.50/acre, if that, before settlers' improvements; they conclude that settlers' "equitable interest" in the lands "amounts to the major part of their estimated value" (p. 18). To buttress the reliability of these citizens, the pamphlet includes corroborating letters from two long-time settlers who could not make the committee's meeting, both saying essentially the same thing—the lands are worthless without the farmers' improvements. One letter-writer makes this claim even though settlers have tried to "override" him and "destroy" his property (p. 19). The use of convergence and reluctant testimony is needed as backing because the committee was formed at a "mass meeting" eleven days after the Mussel Slough massacre; it submitted its report six days later (p. 18). How much disinterest any committee could possibly maintain in the tense circumstances is understandably questionable.³⁴

Following this testimony are short notes from the Southern Pacific informing settlers that their farms are now offered for sale at market prices. Appearing publicly first in an 1878 settler petition to Congress, these letters end up in the pamphlet in altered form—minus the lands' exact grid survey locations. While increasing readability, the erasure does more; it suppresses suggestions of the land as a commodity to keep readers from possibly seeing farmers as speculators. Understood this way, the notes argue



Grangeville cemetery gravestone, ca. 1980, of Mills D. Hartt, mortally wounded at the Battle of Mussel Slough. On the day of the gunfight, Marshal Poole was in the process of placing Hartt and Walter Crow, another local buyer of railroad land, in possession of their properties, and the two heavily armed men, whose lives had been threatened repeatedly by squatters, accompanied the marshal. Hot-headed and aggressively violent, Hartt, according to most witnesses, fired the first shot that touched off the battle. *Editorial office photograph.*

for the value of farmers' improvements and underscore railroad rapacity. For example, Mrs. Martha G. Watkins of Grangeville is informed that "The S.P.R.R. Co. has reduced the price of the land you occupy from \$27.50 to \$24 per acre" (p. 20). That this is the *reduced* price inflames readers' sense of justice. But if readers do not react so, a bracketed insertion makes sure they do because it notes that Mrs. Watkins's lands have been regraded yet again and are "raised to \$27" (p. 20). In the pamphlet's view, a settler like Watkins, buying her land at the railroad's price, pays for her home twice: once in sweat, again in currency. The letters are presented as threats: "your money or your life—*your money*, if you have the ready cash; *your life*, if you will but give us a mortgage on your home" (p. 20). Who will stop these robberies of innocent women like Mrs. Watkins? The League, public opinion, the reader.

To document and defend farmers' good faith negotiations with the company, the pamphlet reaches its conclusion by reprinting League correspondence with Leland Stanford in the weeks immediately preceding the shootings. This shows not only how things came to an impasse but how hard settlers worked to compromise and to avert tragedy—though the letter-writing was originally a delaying tactic to keep the company from removing people from the land until the Supreme Court agreed to hear the settlers' cases (pp. 22-29). The correspondence ends with a letter from Stanford "regretting the necessity of further litigation" and claiming that the railroad's prices were "at least fifty percent below the actual value of these lands" (p. 29). The settlers are impassioned:

Can human insults go farther? Is it possible that we who have struggled for ten years past, and given this country all the real value there is in it, are thus to be robbed? Can all these things be possible in our boasted free country? In short, are we American citizens? (p. 29).

One might expect a description of the killings, but the pamphlet refuses to describe them. This is calculated. Images of Mussel Slough were still present to readers; in the circumstances, restraint foregrounds reasonableness. What follows the above quote is white space, followed by the pamphlet's less impassioned peroration; within the white space, readers fill in images of the massacre, images created by newspaper accounts they have read, images made present, too, by brief reminders in preceding pages of the document (pp. 3, 15, 17, 18).³⁵

THE CONCLUSION

Just as the pamphlet deploys anaphora for volume to introduce Chambers's letter, it ends similarly but with an emphasis on "we." The latter pronoun, of course, implies the settlers' unity of action and purpose in the arguments they have set forth: "We are doing, as we *have* done in the past, everything in our power to secure favorable judicial decisions . . . we now appeal to our fellow-citizens" (p. 30). And to refute charges of unlawful behavior: "We are not outlaws; we are peaceable, industrious, inoffensive American citizens . . . We have built up . . . we have done . . . we have added . . . we have contributed" (p. 30). The tone is effective because this is what the audience wants hear from those it identifies as fellow strugglers; readers are, by now, fully ready to take the settlers' side. The litany of achievement moves us. We want to give them our sympathy, which they ask for several times: "We appeal to you for your sympathy and help . . . we have, in good faith, toiled and spent and suffered for years . . . we appeal for justice to every good man and woman in our broad land to offer us their sympathy and support" (pp. 29-30). Readers finish thinking not about justice, but about revenge.

As a typical example of how farmers argued within a local crisis, *The Struggle of the Mussel Slough Settlers for Their Homes!* points us to the several useful rhetorical tools farmers resorted to time and again in nineteenth-century arguments: personification of corporations to assign responsibility and to argue accountability, anaphora to be heard and to augment their movement's extent, and reliance on pathos and narrative to present concrete values as the basis for their positions. We also learn how farmers strive to form a single voice amid the clamor, disagreement, and divergence of interest within their own neighborhoods, and in studying how they target their audiences, we see how they viewed their contemporaries and themselves. Rhetorical analysis of other important agrarian documents will undoubtedly reveal more clearly the connections and distinctions among various nineteenth-century agrarian movements carried on by the Grange, the Alliances, the People's Party.

Mussel Slough farmers were not defenseless. Organized, politically active, and rhetorically skilled at manipulating public opinion, they held off the Southern Pacific for nearly ten years, using the disputed lands virtually for free in the meantime. Documents such as this Mussel Slough pamphlet, though, sustain the myth of the poor farmer always



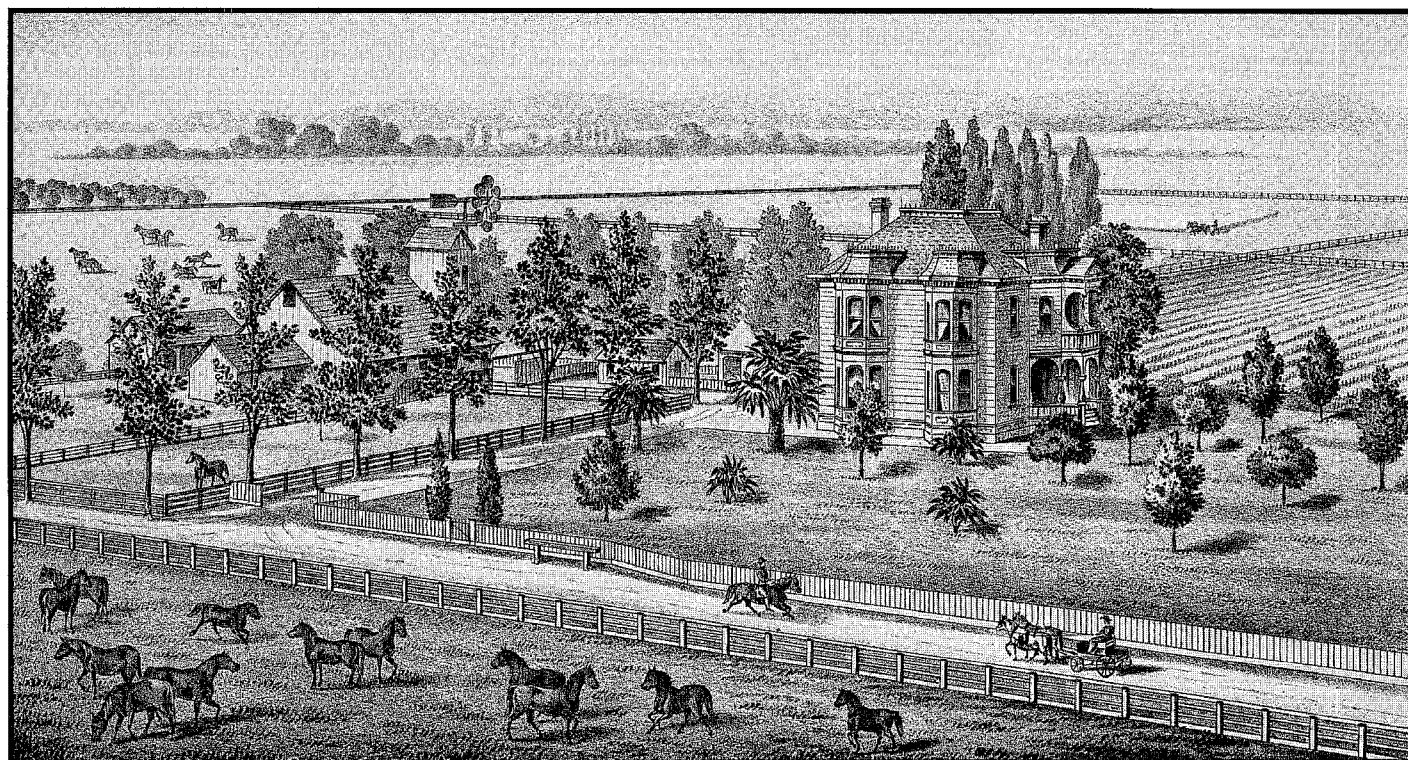
"Impending Retribution," political cartoon drawn by George Frederick Keller, California's foremost cartoon satirist of the period and published in San Francisco's *The Wasp*, October 7, 1882. The vehement anti-railroad and anti-monopoly movements in California politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries frequently hearkened back to the Southern Pacific's oppression of the Mussel Slough settlers as a justification for curbing the company's power. Railroad founders and leaders Leland Stanford, Collis P. Huntington, and Charles Crocker are caricatured at lower right. *Courtesy Bancroft Library*

battling the soulless corporation at a disadvantage. The either/or rhetoric of agrarian victimization does not hold up under close analysis, though we still cling to it emotionally. Commonplace notions of the big bad guys defeating the small good guys must be questioned. The reality is far more interesting and instructive.

CHS

See notes beginning on page 73.

William Conlogue is an assistant professor of English at Marywood University in Scranton, Pennsylvania. His research explores connections between American literature and American agricultural history.



Artist's idealized depiction of the residence and ranch of William J. Newport, Hanford, Tulare County, early 1890s. Newport, along with many of the hundreds of cattle, sheep, and wheat ranchers who migrated into the Tulare Lake Basin after the construction of the Southern Pacific Railroad, modeled his ranch on a vision of agrarian life based on an eastern aesthetic tradition rather than local conditions. From Thomas A. Thompson, *Official Historical Atlas Map of Tulare County* (1892). Courtesy Huntington Library.

Edited by James J. Rawls

*Re-imagining the Modern American West:
A Century of Fiction, History, and Art.*

By Richard W. Etulain. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996, xxvii, 241 pp., \$45.00 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Kerwin Lee Klein, assistant professor of history at the University of California, Berkeley, and author of Frontiers of Historical Imagination: Narrating the European Conquest of Native America.

This informative and readable book is one of the first synthetic cultural histories of the western United States. Western historians have gradually accumulated an impressive array of focused monographs in cultural history treating everything from body art to poetry, but we have lacked balanced overviews of the field. Etulain's coverage is not sweeping—movies, music, food, and architecture all fall outside his purview—but he has indeed achieved an “introductory, nontheoretical” study of a complex subject. *Re-imagining the Modern American West* should find a place on the shelves of specialists and general readers alike.

Etulain divides his volume into thirds: the West as “Frontier,” “Region,” and “Postregion.” These categories are chronological as well as topical, for Etulain's section on frontier authors and artists approximates the period from the late nineteenth century to the late 1920s; the chapters on region subsume thinkers from the late teens to the late forties; and the pages covering postregional culture focus upon the postwar era. Attentive readers will note that these periods correspond roughly to the popular scholarly divisions of Victorianism, Modernism, and Postmodernism. In Etulain's narrative, Frederick Jackson Turner, Owen Wister, Frederic Remington, and other frontier thinkers celebrated coming “to” the West; regionalists such as Walter Prescott Webb, Mary Austin, and Thomas Hart Benton contemplated being “in” the West; and such postregionalists as Patricia Limerick, N. Scott Momaday, and Judith Baca broke with their predecessors by stressing race, class, and gender.

Those readers familiar with Etulain's many earlier writings will not be surprised to learn that the portions of the book dealing with regionalism are by far the strongest. Indeed, his graceful account of the rise of regional literary journals and the crystallization of a canon of regional literature is a minor gem, and his chapter on regional historiography is likewise a welcome contribution to a very competitive field. The chapter on frontier historiography also deserves careful attention for its welcome discussion of Frederic Logan Paxson.

The “postregional” third of the book is less successful. Part of the difficulty is the sheer quantity of material—the number of western novels, poems, paintings, and histories increases almost exponentially each year, and any historian would be humbled by the prospect of finding order in this chaos. But many readers will balk at Etulain's claim that the writings of authors like Rudolfo Anaya and Leslie Silko have entered the “canon” as “ethnic” rather than regional literature.” Since Etulain has so nicely illustrated the recent historical origins of that canon in the values of middle- and upper-class European Americans in the twenties and thirties, many readers will be unimpressed when he justifies his definition of postregionalism by claiming that “few critics” would cite the works of, say, Silko, as “primarily” about the Southwest. Some readers may respond that “postregional” works like *Ceremony* (1977) may be read as efforts at remaking regionalism rather than as entries in some as yet undefined successor project.

Even those readers unpersuaded by Etulain's provocative account of postregionalism will find his narrative thoughtful and informative. Unfortunately, although the book itself is nicely printed and has few typographical errors, the volume lacks a bibliography or bibliographic footnotes. The omission is troubling in a work of synthesis whose target audience could have benefited from Etulain's encyclopedic knowledge of the materials. And although a third of the chapters treat art history, the entire book has only nine images, none of them in color. I suspect that the publisher has practiced such economies in order to keep the price down, but I also suspect that most readers looking for a single-volume introduction to western cultural history would happily spend a few dollars more in exchange for a bit more paratextual substance, especially with a manuscript as rewarding as this one.

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library.

The Rural West Since World War II.

Edited by R. Douglas Hurt. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998, xi, 258 pp., illus., \$45.00 cloth, \$25.00 paper.)

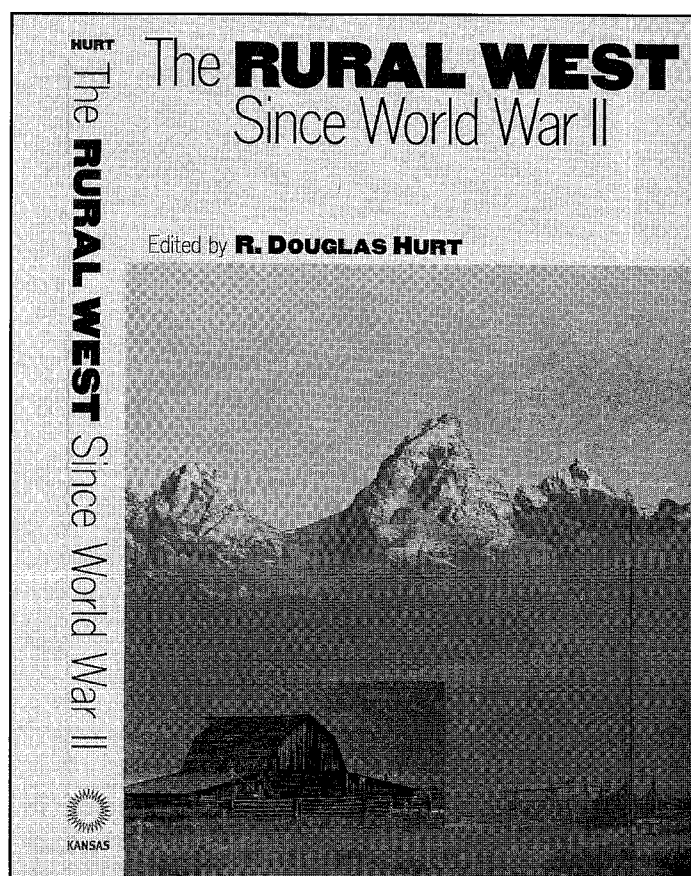
Reviewed by Henry C. Dethloff, professor of history at Texas A&M University and author of The U.S. and the Global Economy (1997) and books on American agriculture and forest history.

The West is no longer the frontier. The rural West is no longer cattle and farming. The rural West, what there is of it, has become a bit of agriculture, tourism, recreation, retirement, and urban all rolled into one still indefinable whole. The West was changing when Frederick Jackson Turner began his historical observations about the impact of the frontier on American history, and it has changed even more during the past half-century. That it has changed is somehow still startling. That the American West, other than as a vast geographic region somewhere west of the Mississippi River, even exists at all may be more startling still. The value of this very perceptively edited volume is that the West, and the rural West, are no longer what we thought them to be. While rural life and agriculture and agrarian politics may be "linked in the economy and culture of the region," the West, like the rest of the United States since 1945, is "city-driven," and our vision and perception of the West are modeled by urban historians.

Thus, Paula Nelson's glimpse into rural life and social change and the urbanization of the West raises a perception of the region today as "engaged in a battle over its future." The conflict engages rural, community, work, survival, frontier ethics, and experiences against urban values and a leisure-time culture. With modern technology, agribusiness, trade, and instant global communications, one can wonder if a rural West really exists.

Once synonymous with West, "the original rural westerners," the American Indians, are still viewed in the context of that very distant past, while the realities are far different, explains David Rich Lewis. Lewis examines the impact of the Wheeler-Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act of 1934), the Indian Claims Commission in 1946, and contemporary business and "gaming" activities in the affairs of the American Indian.

Most of the contributors to this volume are interested in modern agriculture and the modern West. Agriculture is treated by Thomas R. Wessel in the context of agricultural policy since 1945, while Donald J. Pisani examines federal water policy and the rural West. Significantly, both seem to agree that, despite a century of federal farm policy and a century of federal land and



Courtesy University Press of Kansas

water policy, much of what happened in the region turned out to be beyond government control. That is not, of course, what the water and agricultural and land policy planners planned. One wonders, with James E. Sherow, what will be the course of environmental legislation and planning on the future of the West? Sherow views a region as the modern playground of two kinds of "planners," the "greens" and the "machines"—those who on the one hand see the world in a holistic light, and those on the other hand who see the world as a machine that constantly needs fixing and fine tuning. Both, Sherow suggests, see the "interconnectedness" of man and earth. Neither are truly agriculturists or rural westerners.

There is an interconnectedness between the articles by Sandra Schackel, Anne B. W. Effland, Judith Fabry, and Mark Friedberger. They, moreso than the other contributors, are looking from the inside out, that is, they tend to see the world from the perspective of the farm or ranch. Sandra Schackel argues that while women have been participants and leaders in the urbanization of the rural West, they also have sustained the classical commitment to the family farm and the agrarian way of life. Anne B. W. Effland examines migrant and seasonal farm labor. (There is, incidentally, an important and historical difference.) In both cases the great transformation has been the displacement of Anglo labor by Hispanic labor in the region. Judith Fabry suggests that agricultural science and technology contributed significantly to the decline in the number of farms in the twelve western states from 511,000 in 1940 to 273,000 in 1987, while the total acreage in farming rose from 258 to 310 million acres during the same period. Mark Friedberger discusses cattle raising and dairying, and the interconnectedness of public (BLM and USDA Forest Service) lands and land-use policies with those industries. Finally, Harry C. McDean focuses on the pervasive influence that seems to underlie each of the articles—agribusiness and the modern rural West. Agribusiness is pervasive, and dominant, and it does not share the values of rural or West.

The reviewer doubts that the authors and editor intended that the collection focusing on the rural West since World War II be as provocative as it is. But it is provocative. The articles are individually excellent, and collectively insightful. Does the West really exist? Is there a rural West? And if so, how do we explain and describe it? And how does it differ from the rest of our life and history and culture? And how does it affect our historical development?

Women in the Life of Southern California: An Anthology Compiled from the Southern California Quarterly.

Edited by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1996, xx, 431 pp., \$40.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Jacqueline R. Braitman, *lecturer of history at the University of California, Los Angeles; author of numerous articles on women in California and a forthcoming biography of Katherine Philips Edson.*

My joy at having come upon the beautifully bound *Women in the Life of Southern California* quickly turned into frustration as I perused the volume of eighteen essays published over a period of twenty-nine years (1962–1991) in the *Southern California Quarterly*. "For whom was this anthology intended?" I asked myself after realizing there were no footnotes attached to any of the selections, which are made up overwhelmingly of biographies by non-academic historians. Aside from providing a quick review of what has been written on women over the years, I thought it bothersome that I would have to trek to a library to find the original article for a citation. Since only five hundred copies were printed, however, this collection will be most successful by adding to the libraries of benefactors and history buffs, or it will be a nice addition to secondary school-level libraries. High school teachers might find this assortment of portraits useful as a first exposure to the world of women in local history and for book reports and non-research-oriented essay assignments.

I also wondered why the particular selections were made, how many were left out, and generally, what could this celebratory edition be a monument to? I also wondered why, in twenty-nine years, the *Southern California Quarterly* has published only about that many articles on women, approximately 5-7 percent of the total, and mostly about middle-class white women. Does this reflect the paucity of scholarly choices from which the pre-published selections were made, or the broader dearth of scholarship on women of the region?

On the plus side, the subjects do cover quite a range of individuals and experiences. These include the six and one-quarter pages, plus pictures, of a ranchero descendant in "Reminiscences of Ascensión Sepulveda y Avila," by Sister Mary Joanne Wittenburg, S.N.D., and the eight-page diary excerpts from "Nellie Suydam of Glendora," by Hilda Bohem; the longer, more familiar notable subjects of "Mary Austin: Kern

Anne Loftis, author of
*Witnesses to the Struggle:
Imaging the 1930s California
Labor Movement.*
Courtesy University of
Nevada Press.



County Days, 1888-1892," by Donald P. Ringler, and Valerie Sherer Mathes's "Helen Hunt Jackson: Official Agent to the California Mission Indians." Two of the four non-biographical essays are written by Gloria E. Miranda and provide a brief overview of the variety of women inhabiting the pre-statehood decades: "Gente de Razón Marriage Patterns in Spanish and Mexican California: A Case Study of Santa Barbara and Los Angeles" and "Hispano-Mexican Child-Rearing Practices in Pre-American Santa Barbara." The twentieth century is portrayed by five widely diffuse topics such as Jane Apostols's "Why Women Should Not Have the Vote: Anti-Suffrage Views in the Southland in 1911" and Colleen M. O'Connor's "Imagine the Unimaginable: Helen Gahagan Douglas, Women, and the Bomb." Selections written by two notable women's historians offer the most thematically tied depictions of California women's voluntary associations, reform, and public service: Joan Jensen's "After Slavery: Caroline Severance in Los Angeles" and Gloria Ricci Lothrop's "Strength Made Stronger: The Role of Women in Southern California Philanthropy." Lothrop's co-authored piece with Thelma Lee Hubbell further details the history of the Los Angeles Friday Morning Club.

Iris H. W. Engstrand's introduction, which is footnoted, amply guides one's approach to this compilation. However unintended, the message is, however, that women have been an untapped subject for the *Southern California Quarterly*, but here is what they have to offer so far. Or, perhaps, as Engstrand does say, this volume can "suggest new paths for historians of the future." Better yet, while I applaud this effort to enhance the visibility of women in California history, I think it should likely shame editors into soliciting and publishing what is undoubtedly a larger pool of scholarship on the wide spectrum and complexity of women's lives in southern California.

Witnesses to the Struggle: Imaging the 1930s California Labor Movement.

By Anne Loftis. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998, 246 pp., index, \$29.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Jeff Lustig, professor of government, California State University, Sacramento, and author of *Corporate Liberalism: Origins of Modern American Political Theory*.

The writers and artists of California's depression era are sources of endless fascination. An excitement surrounds the names John Steinbeck, Carey McWilliams, Dorothea Lange, and Paul Taylor, undiminished by the years and unexplained by their separate works. Why this is so, how they worked with each other, and why their names still carry such authority has remained, however, something of a mystery.

Anne Loftis clears up the mystery in *Witnesses to the Struggle*, a composite biography of a collective milieu that, as a milieu, has remained a lacuna in California historiography. This is an extensively researched, well-written, well-paced study, moving from labor camp to court, to the Carmel artists' colony, to protagonists' books and letters, and government hearings before drawing the different strands of the story together, without letting the reader's interest lag. The result is not entirely labor history, biography, technical photographic study, or literary criticism but combines valuable elements of each.

California led the nation in farm strikes in the 1930s. Loftis begins with the famous confrontation at Tagus Ranch near Tulare in 1933 that gave Steinbeck the main characters for *In Dubious Battle*, pulled McWilliams into a political orbit, and cast Paul Taylor and his young assistant Clark Kerr in the stance of neutral mediators. This and the subsequent trial of organizers



Courtesy University of California Press.

Caroline Decker and Pat Chambers, the break-up of their communist union (CAWIU), the travail of dust-bowl refugees, the rise and fall of another farmworker union (UCAPAWA), and the entry of the LaFollette committee provide the backdrop of the story. Where many have seen only Anglos in the fields, Loftis notes that the Mexicans were organizing unions in the twenties; and where many portray farmworkers as victims, she follows Taylor and Lange in seeing them as strong individuals beset by hard times.

This is an account not only of the period's documentary expression. It is a story more broadly of the forging of a new political perspective and vocabulary of dissent. The whole that resulted was more than the sum of its parts, though the parts themselves were pretty large. In addition to the people already noted they included Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffen's dynamic wife Ella Winters, Louis Adamic, George West, and the grass-

roots Tagus strike leader, Bill Hamett, for all of whom (and more) Loftis provides cameo portraits. The story here is in the connections. These people did not work as a conscious group, often parted ways and crossed pens. Steinbeck would not attend the 1934 Western Writers Conference planned by Winters and McWilliams; McWilliams disagreed with Taylor and Steinbeck that the federal labor camps were models for reform; Taylor objected to the communists—of whose selfless, if sometimes rigid, contributions Loftis gives a good account.

But together these writers, artists, and scholars created a dissenting outlook. It combined values of agrarian self-sufficiency, artistic commitment (Lange defended her photography in terms of craft, not abstracted culture), and older egalitarian cooperative experiments, leavened by Marxist insights and New Deal hopes. It contextualized current struggles in the land ownership patterns of the past, and aimed toward structural reform and public education for the future.

Loftis has done her work. She has read the letters, articles, and reports and interviewed a remarkable number of strike leaders, camp managers, writers, and artists over a period of twenty-five years. This gives her work a freshness missing from many other studies of the period. Her brevity is also to be commended given current standards of length and prolixity. Like Lange she knows how to select the right example. Some may seek greater detail about individual aspects of this story, but Loftis has done the hard work of sketching the whole.

These were public intellectuals. They tackled deep and enduring political questions with alacrity and humor—questions about individualism and collectivism, incremental reform vs. radical change, democratic ideals vs. practice (what happens when the camp council votes democratically to exclude Mexicans, Negroes, and Filipinos?), and art and politics: Does art enrich politics or batten off it, as Steinbeck feared? If art is deepened by social commitment, is popular struggle subsumed to the representations of art? Loftis imparts a sense of the immediacy of these questions without attempting answers. In the course of confronting them, these writers and artists created an autonomous perspective on ground controlled by powerful farm interests and a hostile media. Loftis successfully conveys a sense of the personal strengths, artistic values, and social commitments necessary to accomplish something of that magnitude.

California Soul: Music of African Americans in the West.

Edited by Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje and Eddie S. Meadows. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, x, 507 pp., \$60.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

Central Avenue Sounds: Jazz in Los Angeles.

Edited by Clora Bryant, et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, xxiii, 442 pp., \$29.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Douglas Henry Daniels, professor of black studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and author of Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco.

Scholarly studies of different genres of black music at the state level are rare. *California Soul* does justice to the breadth and depth of African American music, as well as its complexity and highly fluid character, in the nation's most populous state. It questions the linear approach to the evolution of modern music as well as the common assumptions that it can be pigeon-holed into discrete categories. Its introduction to the history of urban African Americans in California is superb, preparing readers for an interdisciplinary approach employing not only urban and oral history, musicology, and sociology, but also the concepts and tools of ethnic and gender studies.

Most of the essays deal with the first half of this century and the 1960s. Michael B. Bakan and Ralph Eastman analyze early jazz, rhythm and blues, and the night club scene before 1945. They rely upon a much-neglected source, African American newspapers, and build upon the work of Tom Stoddard, Larry Gushee, and Tom Reed. Considering that Jelly Roll Morton, King Oliver, and Kid Ory were in California by 1920, one realizes that we cannot truly understand the music's genesis without taking into account the Golden State's role.

Willie Collins on blues, Jean Kidula on Andraé Crouch, and DjeDje on gospel music emphasize the fluidity of styles in the 1940s; in other words, "The strict compartmentalization of musical styles (bop, rhythm and blues, swing) that became common among critics, musicians, and fans during the postwar period was not yet ingrained" (p. 96). Musicians often played several styles. Interviews with blues composer/producer Bob Geddins and Al Bell of Stax Records also reveal how different styles were developed and synthesized into new blends.

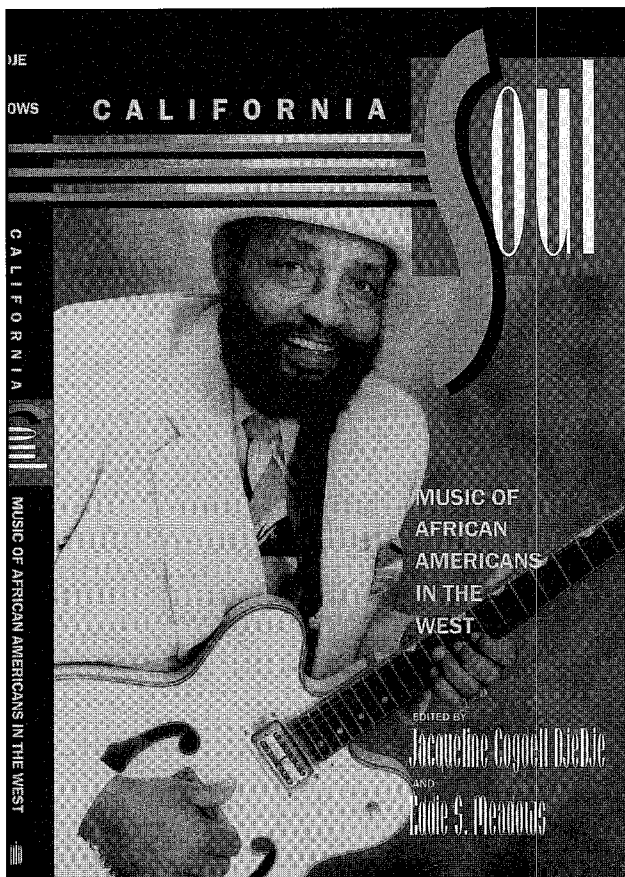
California Soul also clarifies the complex subtleties of California society and the varieties of music. The work's focus on the burgeoning film and radio networks illuminates the media and the commercial side of California music and the way in which they interact and affect styles, the public's taste, and consumerism. Danica Stein's research on Clora Bryant and Kimasi Browne's on Brenda Holloway address sexism in the music business and in scholarly analysis.

Demographics—mainly the migration of blacks from the south—and politics shaped the evolution of the music. Initially European classical traditions dominated the black communities, but as early as 1910, New Orleans musicians lived in southern California, and, soon after, the famous Creole Band formed. By the late 1920s, blues and jazz flourished, and by the 1940s rhythm and blues, or rock and roll, and gospel emerged. Yet considerable diversity existed in jazz, blues, and gospel.

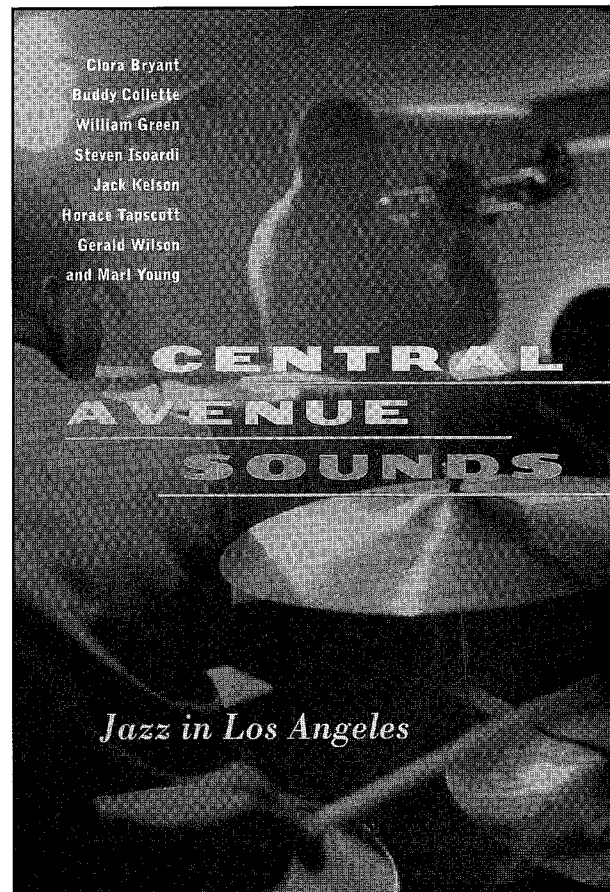
Interviews with musicians enhance the volume's scholarship, such as Geddins's statement that "white people never did understand the blues too much. . . . But now they got down to the bottom of it, and they see why we doing it. They see what kind of feelings it create" (pp. 119–20). And Charles Brown elucidates the link between blues and jazz: "if it wasn't for the blues there wouldn't be no jazz" (p. 229).

The work has some flaws, however. Storyville's role in the origins of jazz is more folklore than it is historical fact, nor did the club's closing spread jazz, for as noted, New Orleans musicians came to Los Angeles quite early. Black California's early emphasis on European classics was not unique, but was also true in New York City and Boston. Mexican or Afro-Latin influences are not discussed. Show business terms like "superstardom" and the misuse of "immigrants" for "migrants" (p. 65) mar the prose occasionally. Also, Lee Young insists he arrived in Los Angeles in 1930, not 1928. To claim the state emerged "without the baggage of slavery" (p. 295) is not quite true, as temporary residents before the Civil War held slaves, and free blacks could neither vote nor testify in court. Despite these minor problems, the work is in a class by itself, enhanced by a comprehensive appendix of nearly one hundred pages.

Central Avenue Sounds, an oral history, complements Meadows's and DjeDje's scholarship, advancing the idea that no single musical style characterized this Los Angeles historic district. The informants include musicians who grew up around the avenue, Watts residents, and migrants. The UCLA Oral History Project assisted Steven Isoardi in his goal to give voice to a people and a famous street that have been bypassed in traditional histories. It is remarkable as a collaborative work in which sev-



Courtesy University of California Press.



Courtesy University of California Press.

eral informants served on the editorial committee to make decisions about the book.

The "conversational narrative" structures the format, allowing informants "to share the freest, fullest narratives, told at their own pace and in their particular way of recalling" (p. xix). Marshall Royal and Lee Young have been interviewed by the Smithsonian, but with Buddy Collette, Bill Douglas, Marl Young, Clora Bryant, Gerald Wiggins, and Horace Tapscott's recollections, we have as rich an account as we are going to get from musicians of that era.

They were quite versatile, for as Coney Woodman recalled, "We played any kind of music. For Mexicans. . . . for movie stars. . . . for all the communists," and for Marcus Garvey (p. 98). They reveal how the music's history was dynamic, with Big Jay McNeely, Sonny Criss, and Teddy Edwards "trying to play bebop before Dizzy and Bird got here" (p. 263). They also advance fascinating ideas about how the shade of the Dunbar Hotel influenced socializing on the street, about "soul" or feeling, and the significance of being "sharp," which need to be taken seriously by writers and fans.

These informants clarify far more than the history of a district whose importance rivaled East Coast locations. They compare the music scene in California to New York City. The roles of mentors, teachers, families, schools, churches, and the black musicians' union local are highlighted. One learns of the tremendous vitality of the culture and the solidarity felt by black residents, by new-

comers from the South, and by white movie stars in the clubs. Art Farmer explains their ethos by praising the famous music teacher Sam Browne as "a good example for others to live by, to try to do something to pass on some knowledge to people who didn't come in contact with it" (p. 281).

Ironically, racial segregation and restrictive covenants caused the concentration of blacks on Los Angeles's East Side until after World War II. Then the tide of history changed, integration became a major force in American society, and the segregated Local #767 chose to amalgamate with the white union before the famous 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision. This is all here, along with the history of the music, the migration of newcomers, and then the demise of Central Avenue in the 1950s. Despite the success of amalgamation and integration, "a difficult lesson . . . from Central Avenue is that political integration *by itself* does not bring equality" (p. 405).

Some minor errors are bound to appear in such a work. The union building was on the east side of Central, not the west. Lee Young's mother's name was Lizetta, which the author invariably spells in interviews as Lizette. Her maiden name is also incorrect. Marshall Royal claims he wrote an arrangement for "I Got Rhythm" in 1927 or 1928, but the song did not come out until 1930. Careful checking would have eliminated these errors. Nonetheless, this is a valuable addition to the autobiographies of Hampton Hawes, Red Callender, Art Pepper, and Roy Porter.

Lawman: The Life and Times of Harry Morse, 1835–1912.

By John Boessenecker. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998, xviii, 366 pp., \$29.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by David J. Langum, professor of law, Samford University, Cumberland School of Law, and author of Law and Community on the Mexican California Frontier: Anglo-American Expatriates and the Clash of Legal Traditions, 1821–1846 and co-author of Thomas O. Larkin: A Life of Patriotism and Profit in Old California.

Harry Morse was sheriff of Alameda County from 1864 to 1878, and thereafter founded and managed a private detective agency. In his role as sheriff, Morse garnered a well-earned reputation for chasing suspects all over California and bringing them to trial. He dispersed many of the bands of highway robbers and livestock thieves who infested mid-California in the years following the Civil War. By the end of his tenure in office, Morse became semi-legendary and had a dime novel modeled after his career. There are documented cases of thieves who carried his likeness with them to avoid his pursuit. Following his successful years as sheriff, Morse founded the Morse Detective Agency, a large, well-regarded company. Morse's most renowned action as a private detective was his capture of Charles E. Boles, alias Black Bart, a famous stagecoach robber.

Lawman has an usually large number of photographs. Doubtless the subsidy from the National Endowment for the Humanities made this possible. The reader forms an impression from the fact that so many of the photographs and even primary documents are from the author's collection that Boessenecker has made a very long-term study of Morse. The book reflects this. Most biographies of lawmen tend to be filled with daring feats

and little else. Boessenecker plays that side of Morse down. He leads us into Morse's private life. He shows us that most of the sheriff's success was due to patiently following trails and tracking leads, coupled with liberal payments to informants.

Although Boessenecker clearly admires Morse, there is nothing hagiographic about this biography. We see lots of negative information. Morse was pugnacious by nature, especially in his younger years. Sometimes he made mistakes. His attitudes toward the Hispanic community were mildly racist, and his actions toward Californio suspects were "overzealous," to use the author's term. However, that racism went with the times, and Morse's was probably less than the norm. He had personal friends in the Hispanic community and arrested suspects who murdered or robbed Californios. The "overzealousness" did lead, nevertheless, to Morse's darkest moments when at least once he perjured himself (p. 182) and on at least one other occasion wilfully suborned perjury by offering a witness whom he had reason to think was lying (p. 192). In both cases, the defendants were Californios.

A large amount of good social history is another positive feature of this well-written and satisfying biography. In the 1880s, Morse himself wrote several articles about his exploits as sheriff, primarily to promote his detective agency. These were published in now-obscure places, but Boessenecker uses edited versions of these primary sources to describe many of Morse's manhunts. Morse was very detailed in describing his travels throughout California, how he traveled, whom he encountered, facilities for the traveler, and so forth. Morse's biography becomes an unexpected source of social history. CHS

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The Author

James W. Schock is an award-winning newsman, former bureau chief for ABC-TV News West Coast, and news director of a San Francisco television station. He has written several novels, including "The News Merchants", and a history of San Francisco, "A Time and a Place for Everything". He is presently completing work on "A Young Person's Guide to the Golden Gate Bridge".

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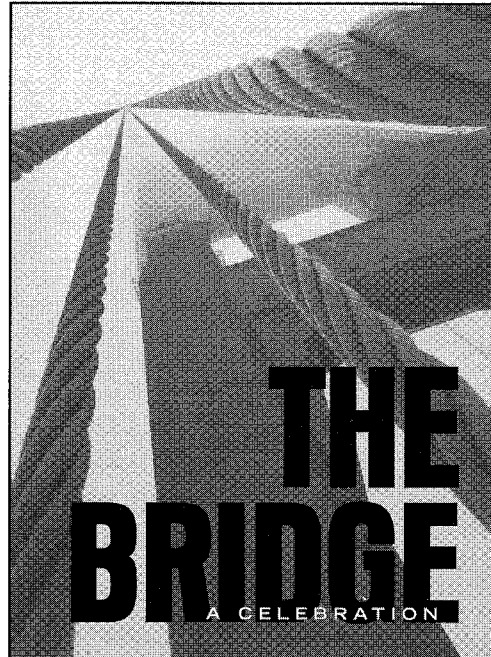
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Charles N. Johnson, Librarian, Ventura County Museum of History and Art

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Allen, Michael. *Rodeo Cowboys in the North American Imagination*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87417-315-9. Order from: University of Nevada Press; MS 166; Reno, NV 89557-0076.

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1886

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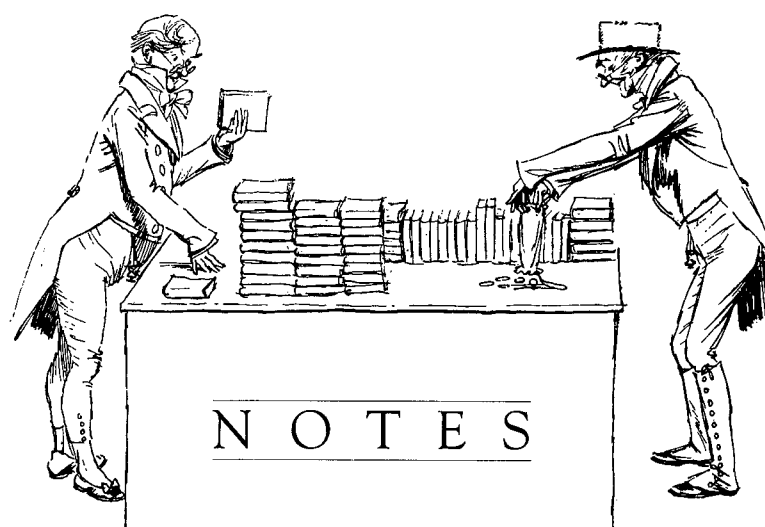
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Mornin, "Adelbert von Chamisso," pp. 2-13.

1. August C. Mahr, *The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932), gives a good account of the Russians' political motives for the expedition. For Fort Ross and Spanish-Russian relations in California, see also Stephen Watrous and Kaye Tomlin, *Outpost of an Empire. Fort Ross: The Russian Colony in California* (Fort Ross: Fort Ross Interpretive Association, 1993); Stephen Watrous, "Ivan Kuskov: In 'Steadfast Zeal for the Common Welfare,'" in *The Californians* 9 (March/April 1992): 8-18; and E. Breck Parkman, "Fort and Settlement," *California History* LXXV (Winter 1996/97): 354-69.
2. An entertaining, though not always serious or accurate, account of the discovery of the California poppy is to be found in Cameron Rogers, *Trodden Glory: The Story of the California Poppy, With a Description of some Russians* (Santa Barbara: Wallace Hebbard, 1949).
3. There is no biography of Chamisso in English. The best in German is by Werner Feudel, *Adelbert von Chamisso: Leben und Werk* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1988). See also Peter Lahnstein, *Adelbert von Chamisso: Der Preusse aus Frankreich* (Munich: List, 1984).
4. The best and most complete edition of Chamisso's works in German today is his *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Jost Perfahl and Volker Hoffmann, 2 vols. (Munich: Winkler, 1975).
5. For Choris's illustrations of the expedition, see Louis Choris, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde...* (Paris: F. Didot, 1822), and Louis Choris, *Vues et paysages des régions équinoxiales...* (Paris: P. Renouard, 1826).
6. Chamisso's scientific writings are documented (only in German, unfortunately) in

Gunther Schmid, *Chamisso als Naturforscher* (Leipzig: Koehler, 1942), and Ruth Schneebeli-Graf, ed., *Adelbert von Chamisso... und lassen gelten, was ich beobachtet habe: Naturwissenschaftliche Schriften mit Zeichnungen des Autors* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1983).

7. A recent English translation is available: Adelbert von Chamisso, *Peter Schlemihl*, trans. J. Bowering (Columbia, South Carolina: Camden House, 1993).
8. The complete official record of the Rurik expedition (comprising contributions by Kotzebue, Choris, and Chamisso) appeared in 1821 and has been reprinted as Otto von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits...*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: N. Israels; New York: Da Capo, 1967). A new translation of Chamisso's record of the voyage, including both his *Remarks and Opinions* and his *Diary*, has become available also: Adelbert von Chamisso, *A Voyage around the World...*, trans. and ed. Henry Kratz (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Kratz's introduction is mostly concerned with Chamisso in Hawaii and the South Seas. Interesting, shorter accounts of Rurik's activities in Alaska and the South Seas are to be found in Robert Fortuine, *The Alaska Diary of Adelbert von Chamisso, Naturalist on the Kotzebue Voyage, 1815-18* (Anchorage: Cook Inlet Historical Society, 1986), and Niklaus R. Schweizer, *A Poet among Explorers: Chamisso in the South Seas* (Bern and Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1973). A rare bibliophile book today is the folio edition of Adelbert von Chamisso, *A Sojourn at San Francisco Bay 1816* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1936); its preface by Oscar Lewis is fairly slight, however.
9. For a discussion of these poems, see Edward Mornin, "Wie verzweifelt die Indianer pflügen": American Indians in Chamisso's

poetry," *Seminar. A Journal of Germanic Studies* 33 (1997): 213-27.

10. Adelbert von Chamisso, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 2: 111-12.
11. *Ibid.*, 112-13.
12. *Ibid.*, 114-15.
13. *Ibid.*, 118-19.
14. *Ibid.*, 117-18.
15. *Ibid.*, 277-78.
16. *Ibid.*, 278-81.
17. *Ibid.*, 279.
18. *Ibid.*, 121.

Buckley, "Joseph Bixio," pp. 14-25.

1. Cited in Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 3 vols. (New York: J. J. Little and Ives, 1938), 2:392-93.
2. Cornelius Michael Buckley, S. J., *Nicolas Point, S. J.: His Life and Northwest Chronicles* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1989), 423. John Bernard McGloin, *Jesuits by the Golden Gate: The Society of Jesus in San Francisco, 1849-1969* (San Francisco: University of San Francisco, 1972) 1-2.
3. Garraghan, *Jesuits in the Middle United States*, 2:401.
4. *Ibid.*, 394.
5. Joseph W. Riordan, S. J., *The First Half Century* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker, 1905), 33-83.
6. *Ibid.*, 78.
7. Luc Wetzel, *Alexandre Bixio* (Besançon, France: Barbier, 1869). For a summary of his life and a bibliography, consult Alberto M. Ghisalberti, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 45 vols. (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-), 10: 723-27; Amand Rastoul, *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, 17 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1933-), 6: 537-38;

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8. Ghisalberti, *Dizionario*, 726-27. Rastoul, *Dictionnaire*, 10:538. Jacques Hillairet, *Dictionnaire historique des rues de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1963), 1:198-99.
 9. "Obituary of Father Joseph Bixio," *Woodstock Letters* 18 (1889), 246-47; Riordan, *First Half Century*, 76.
 10. Alessandro Augusto Monti della Corte, barone, *La Compagnia di Gesù nel territorio della Provincia Torinese*, 5 vols. (Chieri: M. Ghirardi, 1914-1920), 5: 181.
 11. "Obituary, Joseph Bixio."
 12. Joseph Bixio, Alexandria, Virginia, to Charles Stonestreet, July 18, 1854, Bixio correspondence, Maryland Province Archives, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
 13. Giovanni Battista Ponte, Bastia, Corsica, to Pieter Beckx, August 12, 1860, Taur. 10-I, 17, Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome, hereinafter abbreviated ARSJ.
 14. Ghisalberti, *Dizionario*, 10:725.
 15. Sister Mary Teresa, Georgetown, D.C., to Ellen G. White, April 1861, Miscellaneous Letters: Bixio: 1:4A. A:L, Archives of Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Indiana.
 16. Louis-Hippolyte Gache, Camp Lee's Mill, Virginia, to Philippe de Carrière, January 16, 1862, cited in Cornelius Michael Buckley, S.J., *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel: The War Letters of Père Louis-Hippolyte Gache*, S. J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1981), 92.
 17. [An English Combatant (lieutenant on the artillery on the field-staff)], *Battlefields of the South, from Bull Run to Fredericksburg, with Sketches of Confederate Commanders, and Gossip of the Camps*, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1863), 1:280, cited in Buckley, *A Frenchman*, 97.
 18. Pierre Tissot, "Lettre d'un autre Père de la Compagnie de Jésus," *Annales de la Propagation de la foi* 35 (1863): 284.
 19. Girolamo Busetto, *Notizie del Generale Nino Bixio* (Fano: Lana, 1876). Nino Bixio is treated extensively in any biography of Garibaldi. See particularly, Giuseppe Garibaldi, *Autobiography*, Trans. A. Werner, 3 vols. (New York: Howard Fertig, 1971); George Trevelyan Macaulay, *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910); Christopher Hibbert, *Garibaldi* (London: Constable, 1974), and Christopher Hibbert, *Garibaldi and His Enemies* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966). For a summary of Nino's life and career and a more extensive bibliography, see Ghisalberti, *Dizionario*, 727-34.
 20. Rastoul, *Dictionnaire*, 10:733.
 21. Alexandre Dumas, ed., *The Memoirs of Garibaldi*, trans. R.S. Garnett (London: E. Benn, 1931), 313.
 22. James B. Sheehan, C.S.S.R., *Confederate Chaplain: A War Journal*, ed. Joseph T. Durkin, S. J. (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1960), 100-102; Buckley, *A Frenchman*, 98.
 23. George Clark, *A Glance Backwards, or Some Events in the Past History of My Life* (Houston, Texas: Rein and Sons, 1920), 23-24. Buckley, *A Frenchman*, 98.
 24. Sheehan, *Confederate Chaplain*, 160.
 25. Benjamin Francis Musser, "The Lion of Winsted," *The Provincial Annals* (publication of the Franciscan Fathers of New York) 5 (1945-56): 264-65; "Recollections of Reverend Cherubino Viola, O.F.M.," ms., Archives of the Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, St. Bonaventure, N.Y.
 26. Richard L. Carne, *A Brief Sketch of the History of St. Mary's Church, Alexandria, Virginia* (Alexandria: J. Merriot Hill, 1874), 17.
 27. Riordan, *First Half Century*, 146.
 28. Giovanni Battista Ponti, San Francisco, to Pieter Beckx, November 1, 1869, Calif., 7, 18, ARSJ.
 29. Riordan, *First Half Century*, 156, 158. For "Old Marcello" (ca. 1780-1875), see Arthur Dunning Spearman, *The Five Franciscan Churches of Mission Santa Clara, 1777-1825* (Palo Alto: National, 1963), 101.
 30. "Diary of Joseph Dalton," August 7, September 30, 1878, Archives of the Australian Province of the Society of Jesus, Hawthorn, Victoria, Australia.
 31. Riordan, *First Half Century*, 213, 240.
 32. Obituary of Joseph Bixio, *San Francisco Monitor*, March 6, 1889, p. 5, col. 2.
 33. Emilia Morelli, ed., *Epistolario di Nino Bixio*, 4 vols. (Roma: Vittoriano, 1949), 3:335-36.
 34. The Bixio family continued to be prominent until recent times. A distant but curious connection to USF: Pippo's great-grand-nephew (Nino's great grandson), Cesare Andrea Bixio (1896-1978), was a well-known composer and entrepreneur in France and Italy. Closely associated with the Folies-Bergère in Paris during the Golden Age of that theatre, he is also famous for his many classical Neopolitan love-songs and for his role in the development of Italian cinema. Ghisalberti, *Dizionario*, 34:451-53; *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*, 9 vols. (Roma: Le Maschere, 1954-) 2:555-56.

Goodyear, "Beneath the Shadow of Her Flag," pp. 26-39.

1. Douglas Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 13. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, the population of blacks in San Francisco never exceeded two thousand people. At the same time the total population increased to more than 340,000 people by the turn of the century.
2. Daniels's *Pioneer Urbanites* provides a historical overview of the black community's relationship with the dominant culture in San Francisco. Rudolph Lapp's *Blacks in Gold Rush California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977) investigates the political and cultural life of which blacks were a part during the gold-rush era. Charles Wollenberg's *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) is an important history of the campaign against school segregation in California. Philip Montesano's *Some Aspects of the Free Negro Question in San Francisco, 1849-1870* (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1973) chronicles the lives of important leaders in San Francisco's black community during this period. J. William Snorgrass's articles on San Francisco's black press and Philip A. Bell represent the only work to focus specifically on these topics. In particular, see the following: J. William Snorgrass, "The Black Press in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1856-1900," *California History* 60 (Winter 1981-82): 306-17; Snorgrass, "The Philosophy of a Black Editor: Philip A. Bell

- (1808–1889),” *Negro History Bulletin* 44 (April–June 1981): 32–33.
3. Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California*, 186. A small number of slaves accompanied their white masters to California during the first year of the Gold Rush; however, slavery was outlawed in California at the state’s constitutional convention in November 1849. The early legislators passed this bill not necessarily because they held a moral conviction that slavery was wrong, but rather because they hoped to keep all blacks out of California. White officials feared the repercussions that might occur if blacks were brought to their state as “hired men” to work in the gold mines. They were so concerned about this situation that they even enacted their own Fugitive Slave Law in 1852. However, this legislation was overturned three years later.
 4. Snorgrass, “The Black Press in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1856–1900,” 306–307.
 5. In his 1852 profile of Bell, Martin Delany described him as “an excellent business man, talented, shrewd, and full of tact.” Martin Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (Philadelphia: Published by the Author, 1852), 102.
 6. John Blassingame, ed., *The Frederick Douglass Papers*, vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 316. It is also not known precisely when he emigrated to California. Although the most reliable secondary source says 1860, other secondary sources suggest that he may have arrived in San Francisco as early as 1857. Because no primary documents about Bell’s life at this time exist, one can only speculate why and when he made such a trip.
 7. The exact reasons that a feud broke out between these two men are unclear. One certain reason was Bell’s refusal to support a black colonization plan that Anderson envisioned. Throughout his life, Bell adamantly opposed such plans. Another reason might be that Anderson, one of the first blacks to arrive in San Francisco and a long-time community leader, felt threatened by the newcomer Bell, who was ten years older and a figure of national renown. It might also have been a result of their own peculiar personalities. In his 1852 profile, Delany suggests that Bell was “highly sensitive, and very eccentric.” Anderson was said to be very temperamental himself. Delany, *Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People*, 102.
 8. Veritas, “For the Elevator,” *The Elevator*, June 16, 1865:2.
 9. James M. Bell, “Our Paper and its Purpose,” *The Elevator*, April 7, 1865:1.
 10. Philip A. Bell, “Our Name,” *The Elevator*, April 7, 1865:2.
 11. Philip A. Bell, “Our Contemporaries,” *The Elevator*, April 7, 1865:2.
 12. Philip A. Bell, “Prospectus,” *The Elevator*, April 7, 1865:2.
 13. “Anti-Slavery Dictionary,” *San Francisco Daily Examiner*, July 18, 1865:2.
 14. “The Elective Franchise,” *Sacramento Bee*, April 11, 1865:2.
 15. “The Ballot,” *San Francisco Daily Examiner*, June 14, 1865:2.
 16. Philip A. Bell, “The Duties of the Nation,” *The Elevator*, May 19, 1865:2.
 17. John J. Moore, “Negro Suffrage,” *The Elevator*, June 2, 1865:1.
 18. Philip A. Bell, “Citizenship and Suffrage,” *The Elevator*, December 22, 1865:2.
 19. William Wiggins’s *O Freedom! Afro-American Emancipation Celebrations* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987) provides a historical and theoretical overview of these national rituals. August 1, 1833, was the day on which the British outlawed slavery in the United Kingdom. January 1, 1862, was the day that Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Both days were annually commemorated by San Francisco’s black community; however, these celebrations were always confined to private spaces. Never did they prompt public parades or demonstrations.
 20. Philip A. Bell, “The Day We Celebrate,” *The Elevator*, June 30, 1865:2.
 21. “Fourth of July Celebration,” *San Francisco Daily Examiner*, July 3, 1865:2.
 22. B. F. Washington, “The Teachings of Yesterday,” *San Francisco Daily Examiner*, July 5, 1865:2.
 23. See Mark Twain’s letter to the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*, entitled “Mark Twain on the Colored Man,” for a satirical description on the events of that day. Reprinted in Edgar Branch and Robert Hirst, ed., *The Works of Mark Twain: Early Tales & Sketches, Volume 2, 1864–1865* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 248–49. In the pages of *The Elevator* there is no evidence to suggest what, if any, relationship Bell and Twain had.
 24. Philip A. Bell, “The Day We Celebrate, and How We Celebrated It,” *The Elevator*, July 7, 1865:2.
 25. Quoted in Philip A. Bell, “Substance of the Presidential Conversation,” *The Elevator*, February 9, 1866:3.
 26. Philip A. Bell, “Reconstruction,” *The Elevator*, September 15, 1865:2.
 27. Philip A. Bell, “Citizenship and Suffrage,” *The Elevator*, December 22, 1865:2.
 28. Philip A. Bell, “Prospectus,” *The Elevator*, April 7, 1865:2.
 29. Paul Ong, “Chinese Labor in Early San Francisco: Racial Segmentation and Industrial Expansion,” *Amerasia* 8 (1981):72.
 30. See Alexander Saxton’s *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971) for a complete study of this topic.
 31. Albert Broussard, *Black San Francisco: The Struggle for Racial Equality in the West, 1900–1954* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1993), 14.
 32. Philip A. Bell, “Colored Laborers for the Pacific Coast,” *The Elevator*, September 22, 1865:2.
 33. Philip A. Bell, “Legislating on the Negro,” *The Elevator*, December 15, 1865:2.
 34. Philip A. Bell, “Black vs. Yellow,” *The Elevator*, March 30, 1866:2.
 35. Philip A. Bell, “Why We Support the Union Party,” *The Elevator*, August 23, 1867:2. Philip A. Bell, “Democratic Logic,” *The Elevator*, August 30, 1867:2. Despite such efforts, the Democrats swept the elections that fall.
 36. Philip A. Bell, “The Constitutional Amendment,” *The Elevator*, February 5, 1869:2. See also Philip A. Bell, “Need of Organization,” *The Elevator*, April 16, 1869:2.
 37. For much of the previous two years, *The Elevator* itself had existed on the brink of bankruptcy. Bell was constantly calling for charitable donations in the newspaper’s columns. Readers who had not paid for their subscriptions were asked to come forward with their outstanding payments.

38. Philip A. Bell, "Pacific Railroad," *The Elevator*, May 14, 1869:2.
39. "The Effects of the Amendment," *San Francisco Daily Examiner*, December 16, 1869:2.
40. "Senator Casserly on Negroes and Chinamen," *The Elevator*, June 11, 1869:2.
41. "The Question of the Hour," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 19, 1869:2.
42. Philip A. Bell, "Progress of Liberty," *The Elevator*, February 11, 1870:2.
43. Although the Fifteenth Amendment was an important triumph for blacks, many of its chief supporters criticized its vague language. As Eric Foner has documented, it "did not forbid literacy, property, and educational tests that, while nonracial, might effectively exclude the majority of blacks from the polls." Soon adopted in California, these restrictions posed a whole new set of problems to black citizens. While many believed that the amendment's passage represented the final chapter in the struggle for enfranchisement, this was clearly not the case. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1988), 446.
44. Upon Bell's retirement, James B. Wilson took over as *The Elevator's* editor and ran the newspaper for another thirteen years. Because only a few issues still exist from the period after 1885, it is difficult to characterize the newspaper after Bell's retirement. It appears that Wilson published *The Elevator* until 1898. No copies of the newspaper exist after that date.
45. Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites*, 115.
46. Clint Wilson, *Journalists in Paradox: Historical Perspectives and Current Dilemmas* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1991), 32. In his 1876 study of contemporary black culture, entitled *The Rising Son; or, the Antecedents and Advancement of the Colored Race*, William W. Brown first gave Bell this title. So well known was it that several newspapers used the title in their obituaries of Bell and on testimony at the November 30-December 23, 1880, trial of settlers accused of conspiracy and obstruction of justice in connection with the incident. Wallace Smith, *Garden of the Sun: A History of the San Joaquin Valley—1772-1939* (Los Angeles: Lymanhouse, 1939), 271-79; "The Trial of Tulare Settlers," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 10 December 1880. See also: Robert Maxwell Brown, *No Duty to Retreat: Violence and Values in American History and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 107-109; Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, and Richard J. Orsi, *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 231-33.
2. David J. Bederman, "The Imagery of Injustice at Mussel Slough: Railroad Land Grants, Corporation Law, and the 'Great Conglomerate West,'" *Western Legal History* 1 (Summer/Fall 1988): 237-69; Irving McKee, "Notable Memorials to Mussel Slough," *Pacific Historical Review* 17 (1948): 19-27; Brown, *No Duty to Retreat*, 123-24. Scholars who cite the pamphlet as a primary source include Bederman, "Imagery of Injustice," 239; Brown, *No Duty to Retreat*; William Deverell, *Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Railroad, 1850-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 198n, 86; John Larrimore, "Legal Questions Arising from the Mussel Land Dispute," *Southern California Quarterly* 58 (1976): 75-94; Ward McAfee, *California's Railroad Era, 1850-1911* (San Marino: Golden West Books, 1973); McKee, "Notable Memorials," 19; Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 210-11. The Southern Pacific was often referred to in anti-railroad propaganda as an "octopus" wrapping its tentacles around every aspect of California life. For examples of typical G. Frederick Keller cartoons that refer to Mussel Slough, see McAfee, *California's Railroad Era*, 172, 174. Frank Norris worked on *The Octopus* from May 1899 to December 1900. The novel was published by Doubleday, Page and Company in April 1901. Norris read numerous newspaper accounts of the shootings, most reprinted from the *Visalia Weekly Delta*. Donald Pizer, *The Novels of Frank Norris* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), 121, 126. The other novels are: William Chambers Morrow, *Blood Money* (San Francisco: F.J. Walker, 1882); Charles Cyrel Post, *Driven from Sea to Sea, or just a Campin'* (Chicago, 1884); Josiah Royce, *The Feud at Oakfield Creek* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1887); May Merrill Miller, *First Blade* (New York, 1938).
3. I follow Aristotle's definition: "Rhetoric may be defined as the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion." *The Rhetoric and the Poetics of Aristotle*, trans. W. Rhys Roberts and Ingram Bywater (New York: Random House, 1954), 24. Aspects of the rhetorical situation include exigence, writer, audience, subject, text, purpose, and context. For a key debate about the nature of the rhetorical situation, see Lloyd F. Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1 (Winter 1968): 1-14; Scott Consigny, "Rhetoric and its Situations," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 7 (1974): 175-86; Richard E. Vatz, "The Myth of the Rhetorical Situation," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 6 (1973): 154-61.
4. W.W. Robinson, *Land in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 151. In 1876 Mussel Slough settlers argued that the railroad did not build its 20-mile sections of road consecutively (a joint Congressional resolution in 1870 had changed the number of miles for the Southern Pacific land grant from 40 to 20). They argued that the railroad frequently built unconnected road sections to acquire land grants: "we find that instead of 500 miles of connected road there are on the true line from San Francisco three distinct and separate links of 140, 115 and 136 miles, respectively, or about 400 miles in all of the most costly part crossing three separate mountain ranges, remains to be completed for a through connection." (J. J. Doyle, *Memorial of the Settlers on Lands Claimed by the Southern Pacific Railroad: An Argument for the Settlers* [1876], 11). The Goshen-Huron branch, running through Mussel Slough, opened February 1, 1877 (Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 209). In its 4 June 1880 issue, the *Visalia Weekly Delta* charged that the branch was "an afterthought...and its construction can only be accounted for as an attempt to obtain something for nothing from the government." The financial stakes in the Mussel Slough land trouble were high: at \$20/acre the disputed 25,000 acres were worth \$500,000 to the company;

Conlogue, "Farmers' Rhetoric of Defense," pp. 40-55.

1. Discussions of the shootout draw on May 12 news reports in the *Visalia Weekly Delta*

- for the settler, at the same rate, an 80-acre lot would cost \$1600; 160 acres, \$3200; 320 acres, \$6400 (Brown, *No Duty to Retreat*, 96).
5. Robinson, *Land in California*, 155. The Atlantic and Pacific never made it to California. The Texas Pacific Railroad took over its mission, but was outmaneuvered and out-financed by the Southern Pacific, which crossed the Colorado River in May 1877, reached Tucson by 1880, Houston by 1881, and New Orleans by 1883, thus completing a southern transcontinental railroad. (McAfee, *California's Railroad Era*, 125-26). Both the Southern Pacific and the Central Pacific were controlled by the Big Four (Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, Collis P. Huntington, and Mark Hopkins), who extended the Southern Pacific's line south of San Jose only to the mountains at Tres Piños. After building the Central Pacific to Goshen, the Big Four continued construction down the valley toward Los Angeles under the Southern Pacific name "to retain their land grant." The road between Goshen and Huron, which passed through Mussel Slough and never connected to Tres Piños, became a branch line of the main road between San Francisco and Los Angeles (Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, 218).
 6. Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 208; William L. Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes: Land and Life in the Tulare Lake Basin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 137; Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes*, 136, 132. For a discussion of irrigation in the San Joaquin Valley, see Donald J. Pisani, *From the Family Farm to Agribusiness: The Irrigation Crusade in California and the West, 1850-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 191-249.
 7. "Eighty Acres in Seven Months" *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 25 June 1880; Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, 222; "An Appeal to the People," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 7 May 1880. See also: Jerome Madden, *The Lands of the Southern Pacific Railroad of California* (San Francisco: Southern Pacific Company, 1880), 4, 6. In a letter to the *Pacific Rural Press* 12 April 1879, Madden, chief land agent for the railroad, argues that settlers in 1872 "realized now that they were in connection with the railroad system of the state and had a means of transporting produce to market...The understanding, as set forth in the pamphlets and circulars of the company, which were widely circulated and given gratis to settlers, was that the lands would not be graded or the price established until after the reception of the patent. The value would be estimated then from actual sales of even numbered sections in the vicinity. In making the estimate the individual improvements of settlers would not be taken into consideration. In other words, the settlers, from the sales among themselves, would fix the price of railroad land, which would be put from 19 to 20 percent less than their own values."
 8. Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, 227; "Dearly Bought Homes. Mussel Slough Settlers Pleading for Better Terms," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 June 1880, 4; Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 265.
 9. Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 267. Parenthetical page citations refer to the pamphlet, *The Struggle of the Mussel Slough Settlers for their Homes! An Appeal to the People. History of the Land Troubles in Tulare and Fresno Counties. The Grasping Greed of the Railroad Monopoly. By the Settlers Committee* (Visalia, Calif.: Delta Printing Establishment, 1880).
 10. Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes*, 122-23. Preston notes that the Southern Pacific "could found a town in the middle of nowhere, build it, settle its hinterland, and nurture it until settlement gained momentum, at which point settlers would be called upon to repay their debt by paying high rates for rail service" (*Vanishing Landscapes*, 124). *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 24 September 1880; "The Mussel Slough Massacre—Further Accounts by Eye-Witnesses," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 21 May 1880.
 11. "An Appeal to the People," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 7 May 1880.
 12. Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, 234-35; *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 7 May 1880, 28 May 1880.
 13. C. H. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, trans. John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), 31, 33.
 14. Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes*, 125; Brown, *No Duty to Retreat*, 104, 102, 100, 99.
 15. Brown, *No Duty to Retreat*, 117; Deverell, *Railroad Crossing*, 56-57; Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, ch. 13; and Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 268.
 16. John Opie, *The Law of the Land: Two Hundred Years of American Farmland Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 136; *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 24 September 1880.
 17. "The Mussel Slough Troubles," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 May 1880; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 May 1880; Oscar Lewis, *The Big Four* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), 397; "The Corporation's Side," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 May 1880; "The Way of Success," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 21 May 1880; "A Correspondent's Views," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 21 May 1880.
 18. Brown, *No Duty to Retreat*, 65, 101, 105-106, and 214n; "The Trial of Tulare Settlers," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 10 December 1880; Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, 222, 234-35; Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 265.
 19. Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 279; Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, 220-21, 233; Oscar Cargill, *Toward a Pluralistic Criticism* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1965), 122. Jerome Madden, too, charges that Doyle created the crisis (Jerome Madden, letter, *Pacific Rural Press*, 12 April 1879). William Deverell notes that "many of the settlers in the Mussel Slough region were opportunistic gamblers" (*Railroad Crossing*, 56). In the *Delta*, on May 7, 1880, McQuiddy, Patterson, and Doyle deny that Doyle instigated the conflict ("An Appeal to the People," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 7 May 1880). Doyle was on the board of directors of a proposed rival railroad, the Grangeville and Antioch (Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 266; "Grangeville and Antioch Railroad Meeting at Hanford," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 28 May 1880). For a photo of the convicted men, see Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 285.
 20. "The Settlers' Meeting," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 24 September 1880.
 21. "An Appeal to the People," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 7 May 1880; and McKee, "Notable Memorials," 20.
 22. Brown, *No Duty to Retreat*, 102.
 23. Bederman, "Imagery of Injustice," 257; *Southern Pacific v. Orton*, 32 F457 (C.C.D. California 1879); Howard Jay Graham, *Everyman's Constitution* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1968), 375; Irwin Unger, *These United States*, vol. 2 (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1982), 449. For a discussion of the corporation as person and the debate's connection to Frank Norris's *The Octopus* and Josiah Royce's *The Feud at*

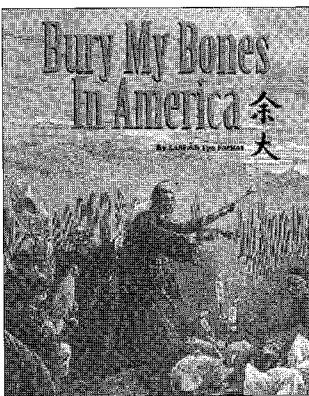
- Oakfield Creek, see Walter Benn Michaels, *The Gold Standard and the Logic of Naturalism* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1987), 181-213. Sawyer also presided at the settlers' November-December 1880 trial (*The Mussel Slough Case*, 5 F680 [C.C.D. California 1880]).
24. Deverell, *Railroad Crossing*, 44, 48.
 25. The Southern Pacific's articles of association created a corporation "for the purpose of constructing, owning, and maintaining a railroad from some point on the bay of San Francisco, in the state of California, and to pass through the counties of Santa Clara, Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Tulare, Los Angeles, and San Diego, to the town of San Diego, in said state; thence eastward, through the said county of San Diego, to the eastern line of the state of California, there to connect with a contemplated railroad from the eastern line of the state of California to the Mississippi river" (Orton, 460; see pamphlet, 4, not all italics reproduced in pamphlet). The Southern Pacific's actual line did not pass through San Luis Obispo County or come near San Diego. The company's charter was changed, however, in the late 1860s, before it built its line and the land troubles erupted. The company was also required to finish its line by July 4, 1878. That it did not is another reason settlers argue that it had no right to Mussel Slough land (see pamphlet, 11), although federal courts had long before decided in cases involving other railroads that failure of a company to complete a line did not negate land grants along the completed portions.
 26. Ellen Liebman, *California Farmland: A History of Large Agricultural Landholdings* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983), 40; "The Tulare Settlers," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 29 May 1880. By September 1876, the road was completed to Los Angeles (Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes*, 123). That the railroad went only as far as Los Angeles before turning east was mostly the result of the extremely rugged, isolated, and thinly populated country south of that city and partly because of an inter-community dispute between Los Angeles and San Diego for the right to be chief city of southern California. San Diego worked with Tom Scott and his Texas & Pacific Railroad to establish a southern transcontinental route with its terminus at San Diego. This line might have cut into the traffic of the original transcontinental line (a southern line did not have to worry so much about snow and could be built and maintained at lower costs). Because of the T.P.R.R./San Diego deal, Los Angeles and the Southern Pacific collaborated on a line with Los Angeles as the terminus. The Southern Pacific's hurried construction through the San Joaquin Valley was, in part, an effort to beat Scott to the Colorado. If it made it, the Southern Pacific would own enough road and would have captured a crucial crossing of the river in order to be able to raise sufficient investment capital to complete its line to Atlantic tidewater, thus thwarting Scott's attempts to enter the transcontinental market. The Southern Pacific eventually won, building a road all the way to New Orleans. For a full discussion, see McAfee, *California's Railroad Era*, chapters 8-15. See Also Edna Monch Parker, "The Southern Pacific Railroad and Settlement in Southern California" *The Pacific Historical Review* 6 (1937): 103-19.
 27. Doyle, *Memorial of the Settlers*, 12; Orton, 469-70; "Settlers' Answer to the S.P.R.R.," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 20 August 1880.
 28. Orton, 479-80. A letter from Attorney General Charles Devens makes the pamphlet's legal argument for the definition of a settler. Devens interprets Congress's meaning in the joint resolution: "The word 'settler' might mean only a legal occupant of the public lands under public land laws, but the use of the word 'actual' by Congress, indicates that the class for whom it was legislating in this saving clause is something different, and consists of those persons who had actually gone upon the land in the capacity of settlers...actual settlers, in addition to those who were rightfully pre-emptors and homesteaders, should have their equitable rights respected" (10).
Quoting Devens allows the pamphlet to use Devens's prestigious position to lend authority to its argument. That an attorney general agrees with them suggests that the settlers are law-abiding, peace-loving people. (For a discussion of prestige and bias in argumentation, see Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 314-15).
 29. Bederman, "Imagery of Injustice," 262n, 150; "The Settlers' Rights," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 3 September 1880; Bederman, "Imagery of Justice," 240n, 14; Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, 235.
 30. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 161-62, 357.
 31. Opie, *Law of the Land*, 24. Supporting the contention that irrigation was a "herculean task" (14) is a state engineer's 1880 report: "It is but just and proper...to give merited praise to the energy and perseverance with which people of the Mussel Slough region, without experience in such matters, have grappled with the perplexing problem of irrigation" (22). Actually, the engineer was "Somewhat aghast after a survey of Tulare Valley irrigation projects" (Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes*, 139). Preston argues that "construction of large-scale irrigation systems in the basin was not difficult. Because terrain was generally level, the costs of canal construction and field preparation were low, and when farmers most needed water—in the spring and early summer—the streams were full" (Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes*, 136). Though the pamphlet depicts an uninhabited wasteland before 1870, Tulare and Fresno county populations in 1860 were 4,638 and 4,605 respectively. Improved acres numbered 20,313 in Tulare, 3,770 in Fresno (Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes*, 87). Obviously, settlers did not all move into the Tulare Basin in the 1870s nor did they all move in because of railroad circulars or the advent of irrigation, as the pamphlet implies. See "Pioneers in Mussel Slough," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 4 June 1880. Jerome Madden, land agent for the Southern Pacific, maintains that specifically Mussel Slough lands were unoccupied until the railroad arrived (letter, *Pacific Rural Press*, 12 April 1879).
 32. Madden, *Lands of the Southern Pacific*, 15; Opie, *Law of the Land*, 24, 27-29; Paul Wallace Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 283. Richard Orsi demonstrates how the Southern Pacific understood its future in terms of its promotion of commercial and scientific agriculture in California; Orsi, "The Octopus Reconsidered: The Southern Pacific and Agricultural Modernization in California,

- 1865-1915," *California Historical Quarterly* 54 (Fall 1975): 196-220.
33. Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 341-43.
34. For a discussion of convergence in argumentation, see Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 471-74. John Sutherland could not make it to the meeting "on account of high water, and the bridge on the Last Chance ditch being gone"

- (19).
35. Bederman, "Image of Injustice," 240. The reminders are: "...we claim the lands along the line of what is called the Goshen branch of the Southern Pacific Railroad, over which the contests arose that resulted in the lamentable occurrence of the 11th of May, when seven men lost their lives" (3); in introducing Chambers's narrative, "...the following

letter, written to the *Visalia Delta* by a sister of poor murdered Archie McGregor, soon after the lamentable occurrence of the 11th of May" (15); within Chambers's narrative, "At their door lies this murder...The arms did not appear until after the slaughter" (17).

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